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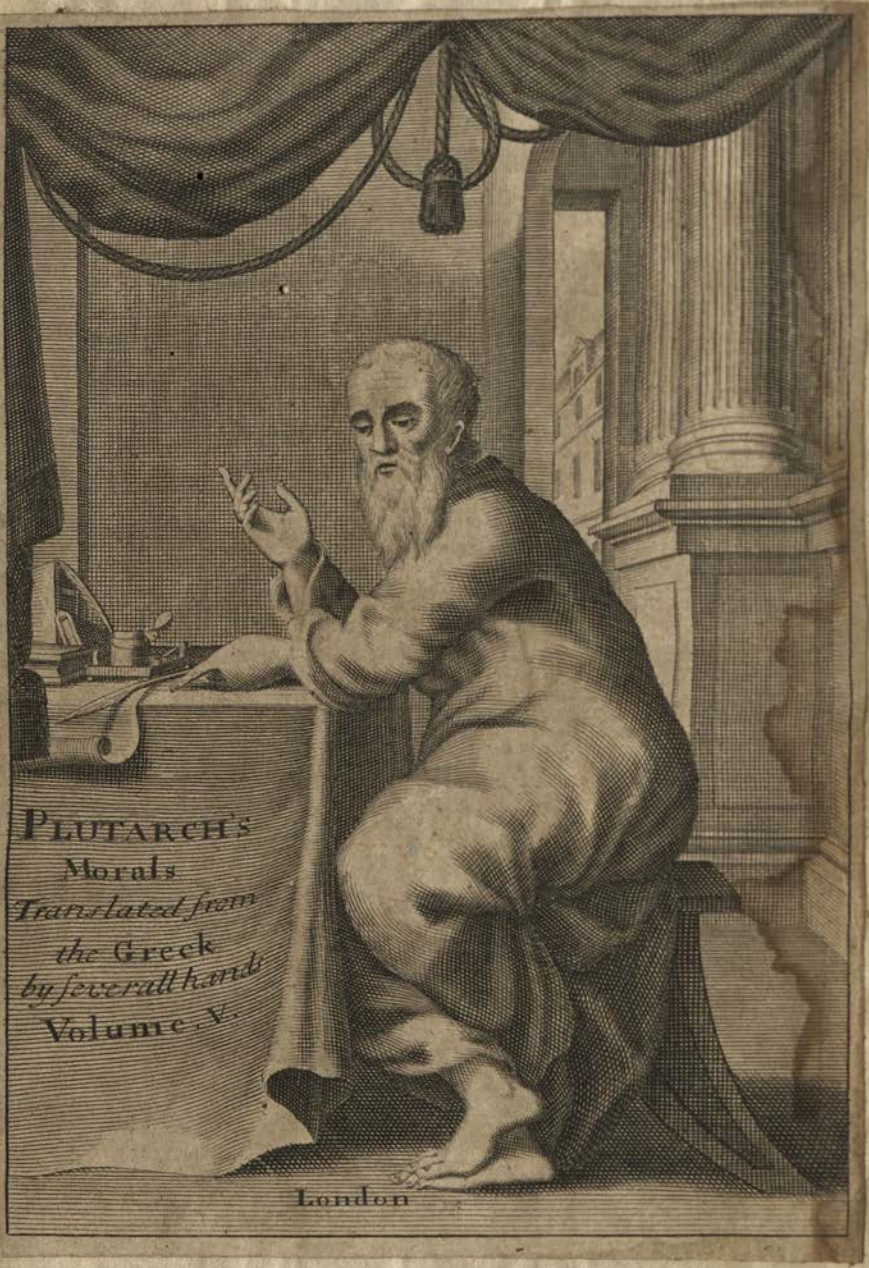
PLUTARCH's
Morals
Translated from
the Greek
by several hands
Volume V.
London

Plutarch's MORALS:

Tranſlated from the *GREEK*

BY

SEVERAL HANDS.

Volume V.

The Fourth Edition Corrected and Amended.

V.e.12 81643

LONDON,

Printed by *Tho. Braddyll*, and are to be Sold by moſt Bookſellers in *London* and *Weſtminſter*.
MDCCIV.

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TO THE

Right Reverend Father in GOD,

EDWARD,

Lord Biſhop of *WORCESTER*.

THere is not perhaps any one amongſt all the Ancient *Ethnick* Philoſophers, whoſe Writings have met with a more general Applauſe, than thoſe of *Plutarch*; neither has the Reputation, they have gain'd, been undeſerv'd. For, whether we conſider his *Biography*, in which the *Lives* of the Nobleſt Heroes, both of *Greece* and *Rome*, are moſt exactly Record-ed, and moſt accurately Compar'd; or, whether we regard thoſe excellent Precepts of *Morality* and *Vertue*, admirably deliver'd in his other Treatiſes; we every where find ſomewhat ſo great and inimitable, that it plainly ſhews him to have wanted nothing, but the knowledge of a purer Religion, to have render'd him one of the Beſt, as well as the moſt Learned Men of his Age. No wonder therefore, if moſt Nations have deſir'd to enjoy in their

own

own Language the Works of ſo celebrated an Author: Wherefore, to gratifie thoſe of our Country, who are no leſs ambitious of that Satisfaction than their Neighbours, ſeveral Learned and Ingenious Gentlemen have employ'd ſome part of their Time in Clothing him with an *Engliſh* Dreſs. His *Lives* were firſt taken in Hand, the Publication of which in five Volumes having been well accepted, it encourag'd the Undertaking of his *Morals*; the Fifth and laſt Volume whereof being now compleated, I was requeſted in the Name of all the Gentlemen, concern'd in its Traduction, to lay it at your Lordſhip's Feet,

The complying with this Requeſt, my Lord, I muſt ingeniouſly confeſs, I endeavour'd with no ſmall Earneſtneſs to avoid, the Conſciouſneſs of my Inſufficiency, making me tremble at the very Thoughts of appearing before ſo diſcerning a Judge; but when I found that no Excuſes would be admitted, I, Coward-like, emboldned my ſelf by the Conſideration, that you are no leſs conſpicuous for Goodneſs and Clemency, than for thoſe many other ſingular Endowments, both natural and acquir'd, who

have

have deſervedly rais'd your Lordſhip to ſo eminent a Dignity in the *Engliſh* Church and Nation.

Be pleas'd then, my Lord, favourably to accept this Tribute, paid to your Vertues by the Tranſlators of this Part of our Author's Works; and with your wonted Charity to pardon all ſuch Errors and Imperfections, as your well-known Skill in all ſorts of Languages cannot but find in the Verſion of a Writer, the height of whoſe Conceptions, 'tis difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, to tranſfer into another Language, without very much abating their Spirit. The Patronage, You ſhall vouchſafe to afford theſe our Endeavours, as it will be a more than ſufficient Protection againſt the Cavils and Calumnies of carping and malicious Criticks, ſo will it lay a perpetual Obligation on us to have a conſtant and grateful Remembrance of ſo ſignal a Benefit, in which none ſhall more faithfully perſiſt, than he, who is with all imaginable Reſpect and Submiſſion,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Dutiful

and Obedient Servant,

Sam. White.

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Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. V.

Of Eating of Fleſh.

The Firſt Tract.

Tranſlated from the Greek *by* William Baxter, *Gent.*

YOu ask of me then for what reaſon it was that *Pythagoras* abſtained from Eating of Fleſh. I for my part do much admire in what humor, with what Soul, or Reaſon the firſt Man *with his Mouth touched ſlaughter*, and *reach'd to his Lips, the Fleſh of a dead Animate*; And having ſet before People Courſes of ghaſtly Corpſes and Goaſts could give thoſe parts the Names of Meat and Victuals, that but a little before lowed, cryed, moved and ſaw: How his ſight could endure the Blood of ſlaughtered, flayed and mangled Bodies; How his ſmell could bear their Scent; And how the very naſtineſs happened not to offend the taſte, while it chewed the ſores of others, and participated of the Saps and Juices of deadly Wounds.

Fleeces did creep, Fleſh on the Spits did bellow,
Both Raw and Roaſt.

This indeed is but a fiction and fancy, but the Fare it ſelf is truly monſtrous and prodigious; that a Man ſhould have a Stomach to Creatures while they yet bellow, and that he ſhould be giving directions which of things yet alive and ſpeaking, is fitteſt to make Food of, and ordering the ſeveral manner of the ſeaſoning and dreſſing them and ſerving them up to Tables. You ought rather in my opinion to have inquired who firſt began this Practice, than who of late Times left it off. And truly as for thoſe People who firſt ventured upon Eating of Fleſh, it is very probable that the

whole reaſon of their ſo doing, was ſcarcity and want of other Food; for it is not likely that their living together in *lawleſs* and *extravagant* luſts or their growing wanton and capricious through the exceſſive variety, of Proviſions then among them, brought them to ſuch unſociable Pleaſures as theſe, againſt Nature. Yea, had they at this Inſtance but their ſenſe and voice reſtored to them, I am perſwaded they would expreſs themſelves to this purpoſe. Oh! Happy you, and highly favoured of the Gods, who now live! Into what an Age of the World are you fallen, who ſhare and enjoy among you a plentiful Portion of good things! What abundance of things ſpring up for your uſe! What Fruitful Vineyards you enjoy! What wealth you gather from the Fields! What delicacies from Trees and Plants, which you may gather! You may glut and fill your ſelves without being polluted. As for us, we fell upon the moſt diſmal and affrighting part of time, in which we were expoſed by our firſt Production to manifold and inextricable wants and neceſſities. As yet the thickned Air concealed the Heaven from our view, and the Stars as yet confus'd with a diſorderly huddle of fire and moiſt and violent Fluxions of Winds. As yet *the Sun was not fixed to an unwandring and certain courſe, But drew both* Eaſt *and* Weſt *round about you; and then again return'd behind you, twiſting about the Fruitful Seaſons, like Garlands upon a Cup. The Land was alſo ſpoiled by the Inundations of diſorderly Rivers; And a great part of it was deformed with Sloughs, and utterly wild by reaſon of deep Quagmires, unfertile Foreſts and Woods.* There was then no production of tame Fruits, nor any Inſtruments of Art, or Invention of Wit. And hunger gave no time, *nor did Seed-time then ſtay for the yearly Seaſon.* What wonder is it if we made uſe of the Fleſh of Beaſts contrary to Nature, when Mud was Eaten and the Bark of Wood, and when it was thought a happy thing to find either a ſprouting Graſs, or a Root of any Plant. But when they had by chance taſted of, or eaten an Acron, they danced for very joy about ſome *Oak* or *Eſculus*, calling

it

it by the Names of *Life giver*, *Mother* and *Nouriſher*; And this was the only Feſtival that thoſe times were acquainted with; Upon all other occaſions all things were full of anguiſh and diſmal ſadneſs. But whence is it that a certain ravenouſneſs and frenzy drives you in theſe happy days to pollute your ſelves with Blood, ſince you have ſuch an abundance of things neceſſary for your ſubſiſtence? Why do you belye the *Earth* as unable to maintain you? Why do you profane the *Law-giver Ceres*, and ſhame the *Mild* and *Gentle Bacchus*, as not furniſhing you with ſufficiency? Are you not aſhamed to mix tame *Fruits* with *Blood* and *Slaughter*? You are indeed wont to call *Serpents*, *Leopards* and *Lions* Savage Creatures, but yet your ſelves are defiled with Blood; and come nothing behind them in cruelty. What they kill, is their ordinary nouriſhment, but what you kill indeed is your better fare. For we eat not *Lions* and *Wolves* by way of revenge; But let thoſe go, and catch the harmleſs, and tame ſort, and ſuch as have neither Stings nor Teeth to bite with, and ſlay them; which ſo may *Jove* help us, that nature ſeems to us to have *produced* for their beauty and comelineſs only. Juſt as if one ſeeing the River *Nilus* over-flowing its Banks and thereby filling the whole Country with genial and fertile moiſtre, ſhould not at all admire that ſecret power in it that produces Plants and plenteouſneſs of moſt ſweet and uſeful *Fruits*, but beholding ſomewhere a *Crocodile* ſwimming in it, or an *Aſpe* crawling along, or *Flyes*, (Savage and filthy Creatures) ſhould preſently affirm theſe to be the occaſion of all that is amiſs, or of any want or defect that may happen. Or as if indeed one contemplating this Land or Ground, how full it is of tame Fruits, and how heavy with Ears of Corn, ſhould afterwards eſpy ſomewhere in theſe ſame Corn-fields an Ear of *Darnel* or a *Wild Vetch*, and thereupon neglect to reap and gather in the Corn, and fall a complaining of theſe. Such another thing it would be, if one ſeeing the Harangue of ſome Advocate at ſome Bar or Pleading, ſwelling and enlarging and haſtening towards the relief of ſome impending danger, or elſe, by *Jupiter*, in the impeaching

and charging of certain audacious Villanies or Indictments, flowing and rowling along, and that not in a ſimple and poor ſtrain, but with many ſorts of *paſſions* all at once, or rather indeed with all ſorts, in one and the ſame manner, into the many, and various and differing minds of either Hearers or Judges, that he is either to turn and change; or elſe, by *Jupiter*, to ſoften, appeaſe and quiet; ſhould overlook all this buſineſs, and never conſider or reckon up the labour or *ſtruggle* he had undergone, but pick up certain looſe expreſſions, which the rapid motion of the diſcourſe had carried along with it as by the *ſtream* of its *current*, and ſo had ſlipt and eſcap'd the reſt of the *Oration*; and hereupon undervalue the Orator. But we are nothing put out of countenance, either by the beautious gayety of the colours, or by the charmingneſs of the Muſical Voices, or by the rare Sagacity of the Intellects, or by the cleanlineſs and neatneſs of Diet, or by the rare diſcretion and prudence of theſe poor unfortunate Animals; but for the like of ſome little *mouthful* of *Fleſh*, deprive a Soul of the Sun and Light, and of that proportion of Life and Time it had been Born into the World to enjoy. And then we fancy that the Voices it utters and ſcreams forth to us are nothing elſe but certain inarticulate ſounds and noiſes, and not the ſeveral Deprecations, Entreaties and Pleadings of each of them, as it were ſaying thus, to us; I deprecate not thy neceſſity (if ſuch there be) but thy wantonneſs; Kill me for thy feeding: But do not take me off for thy better feeding. O horrible cruelty! It is truly an affecting ſight to ſee the very Table of Rich People laid before them, who keep them Cooks and Caterers to furniſh them with Dead Corpſes for their daily Fare; But it is yet more affecting to ſee it taken away, for there is more mammocks left than was eaten. Theſe therefore were ſlain to no purpoſe. Others there are that though they have abſtained from what had been ſet before them, yet will not ſuffer others to cut or ſlice what they *themſelves* had rejected; and yet would not abſtain from them while alive. Well then, we *underſtand* that that ſort of *Men* are us'd to ſay, that in

eating

eating of Fleſh they follow the conduct and direction of Nature. But that it is not natural to Mankind to feed on Fleſh, we firſt of all demonſtrate from the very Shape and Figure of the Body. For a *human Body* no ways *reſembles* thoſe that were Born for *ravenouſneſs*; It hath no *Hawk* bill; no ſharp Tallon; no roughneſs of Teeth; no ſuch ſtrength of Stomach, or heat of digeſtion as can be ſufficient to convert or alter ſuch heavy and fleſhy Fare. But even from hence, that is from the *ſmoothneſs* of the *Tongue*, and the ſlowneſs of the *Stomach* to digeſt, *Nature* ſeems to diſclaim all pretence to Fleſhy Victuals. But if you will contend that your ſelf was Born to an inclination to ſuch Food, you have now a mind to eat; Do you then your ſelf kill, what you would eat. But do it your own ſelf; without the help of a Chopping Knife, Mallet or Axe; as Wolves, Bears, and Lyons do, who kill and eat at once. Rend an Oxe with thy Teeth, worry a Hog with thy Mouth, tear a Lamb or a Hair in pieces, and fall on and eat it alive as they do. But if thou hadſt rather ſtay until what thou eateſt is become dead, and if thou are loath to force a Soul out of its Body, why then doſt thou againſt *Nature* eat an Animate thing? Nay there is no body that is willing to eat even a lifeleſs and a dead thing as it is, but they Boyl it, and Roaſt it, and alter it by Fire and Medicines, as it were changing and quenching the *ſlaughtered* Gore with *Thouſands* of ſweet Sawces, that the Palate being thereby deceived, may admit of ſuch uncouth Fare. It was indeed a witty Expreſſion of a *Lacedemonian*, who having purchaſed a ſmall Fiſh in a certain Inn, delivered it to his Landlord to be dreſſed; and as he demanded Cheeſe, and Vinegar, and Oyl to make Sawce, he replyed, if I had had thoſe, I would not have bought the Fiſh. But we are grown ſo wanton in our bloody Luxury, that we have beſtowed upon Fleſh the Name of Meat, and then require another Meat to this ſame Fleſh, mixing *Oyl*, *Wine*, *Hony*, *Pickle* and *Vinegar*, with *Syrian* and *Arabian* Spices, as though we really meant to embalm it after its deceaſe. Indeed when things are diſſolved, and made thus tender and ſoft, and are as it were turned into a ſort

of a Carrionly Corruption, it muſt needs be a great difficulty for Concoction to maſter them, and when it hath maſtered them, they muſt needs cauſe grievous oppreſſions, and qualmy indigeſtions. *Diogenes* ventured once to eat a raw Pourcontrel, that he might diſuſe himſelf from Meat dreſſed by Fire; And as ſeveral Prieſts and other People ſtood round him, he wrapp'd his head in his Caſſoc and ſo putting the Fiſh to his Mouth, he thus ſaid unto them; *It is for your ſake, Sirs, that I undergo this danger, and run this risk; a Noble and Gallant riſque, by Jupiter.* For no otherwiſe then as *Pelopidas* ventured his Life for the Liberty of the *Thebans*, and *Hemodius* and *Ariſtogiton* for that of the *Athenians*, did this Philoſopher encounter with a raw Pourcontrel, to the end he might make human Life more brutiſh. Moreover theſe ſame Fleſh-eatings are not only preternatural to Mens Bodies, but alſo by clogging and cloying them, render their very Minds and Intellects groſs alſo. For it is well known to moſt that Wine and much Fleſh-eating make the Body indeed ſtrong and luſty, but the mind weak and feeble. And that I may not offend the Wreſtlers, I will make uſe of Examples out of my own Country. The *Athenians* are wont to call us *Beotians Groſs, Senſleſs* and *Stupid* Fellows, for no other reaſon but our over much eating. And ſometimes alſo *Hogs* for the ſame reaſon. *Menander* the *Comedian*, calls us, *Fellows with long Jaws.* It is obſerved alſo, that according to the ſaying of *Heraclitus*, *A dry light has the wiſeſt Soul.* Earthen jars, if you ſtrike them, will ſound; but if they be full, they perceive not the ſtrokes that are given them. Copper Veſſels alſo that are thin, communicate the ſound round about them, unleſs ſome one ſtop and dull the ambient ſtroke with his Fingers. Moreover the Eye when ſeized with an over great plenitude of humors grows dim and feeble for its ordinary work. When we behold the Sun through a humid Air, and a great quantity of groſs and indigeſted vapours, we don't ſee it clear and bright, but obſcure and cloudy and with glimmering Beams. Juſt ſo in a muddy and clogged Body, that is ſwagged down with heavy and unnatural

nouriſhments

nouriſhments it muſt needs happen that the Gayety and Splendor of the Mind be confuſed and dulled, and that it ramble and rowl after little and ſcarce diſcernible Objects, ſince it wants clearneſs and vigour for higher things. But to paſs by theſe conſiderations, is not accuſtoming ones ſelf to mildneſs and an human temper of mind an admirable thing? For who could wrong or injure a Man that is ſo ſweetly and humanly diſpoſed with reſpect to the ills of ſtrangers that are not of his kind? I remember that three days ago as I was diſcourſing, I made mention of a Saying of *Xenocrates*, and how the *Athenians* gave Judgment upon a certain Perſon who had flay'd a living Ram. For my part I cannot think him a worſe Criminal that torments a poor Creature while living than a Man that ſhall take away its Life and Murther it. But (as it ſeems) we are more ſenſible of what is done againſt Cuſtom than againſt Nature. Theſe are now their more common and vulgar Reaſonings upon this Subject. As for that grand and myſterious Principle which (as *Plato* ſpeaks) is incredible to baſe minds, and to ſuch as affect only mortal things, I as little care to move in this diſcourſe, as a Pilot doth a Ship in a Storm, or a Comedian his Machine while the Scences are moving. But perhaps it would not be a miſs by way of Introduction and Preface to ſtrike up and ſing certain Verſes of *Empedocles*. For in thoſe by way of Allegory he hints at Mens Souls, as that they are tyed to mortal Bodies, to be puniſhed for Murthers, eating of Fleſh, and of one another. Although this Doctrin ſeems much ancienter than his time. For the Fables that are ſtoryed and related about the diſcerption of *Bacchus*, and the Attempts of the *Titans* upon him, and of their taſting of his ſlain Body, and of their ſeveral puniſhments and Fulminations afterwards, are but a Repreſentation of the *Regeneration*. For what in us is unreaſonable, diſorderly and boiſterous, being not Divine but Demoniac, the Ancients termed *Titans*, and that is it that is to ſuffer torments, and to undergo vengeance after death.

Plutarch's Morals
Vol. V.

Of Eating of Fleſh.
The Second Tract.
Tranſlated from the Greek *by the ſame Hand.*

REaſon perſuades us now to return with freſh Cogitations and Diſpoſitions to what we left cold *yeſterday* of our Diſcourſe about Fleſh Eating. It is indeed a hard and a *difficult task* to *undertake* (as *Cato* once ſaid) to *diſpute* with *mens bellies* that have no Ears; ſince moſt have already drunk that *Draught* of Cuſtom, which is like that of *Circe*,

Of groans and frauds and ſorcery replete.

And it is no eaſie *Task* to pull out the *Hook* of Fleſh-Eating from the *Jaws* of ſuch as have *gorged themſelves* with Luxury, and are as it were nailed down with it. It would indeed be a *good action*, if as the *Ægyptians draw* out the *Stomach* of a dead Body, and cut it open and expoſe it to the Sun, as the *only cauſe* of all its *evil actions*; ſo we could by cutting out our *Gluttony* and Blood-ſhedding, purifie and cleanſe the remainder of our lives. For the Stomach it ſelf is not guilty of Bloodſhed, but is involuntarily polluted by our intemperance. But if this may not be, and we are aſhamed by reaſon of cuſtom to live unblamably, let us at leaſt ſin with diſcretion: Let us eat fleſh, but let it be for hunger, and not for wantonneſs. Let us kill an animal, but let us do it with ſorrow and pity, and not abuſing and tormenting it, as many now a days are uſed to do, while ſome run red hot Spits through the Bodies of Swine, that by the tincture of the quenched Iron the Blood may be to that degree mortified, that it may ſweeten and ſoften the Fleſh in its circulation; and others jump and ſtamp upon the Udders of Sows that are ready to Pig, that ſo they may take off (Oh: *Pinoular Jupiter*) in the very pangs of delivery, Blood,

Milks

Milk and Corruption) deſtroying the young ones beſides) and ſo eat the moſt inflam'd and diſeas'd Part of the Animal; others ſow up the Eyes of Cranes and Swans, and ſo ſhut them up in darkneſs to be fatned, and then ſowce up their fleſh with certain monſtrous Mixtures and Pickles. By all which it is moſt manifeſt, that it is not for nouriſhment, or want, or any neceſſity, but for meer gluttony, wantonneſs and expenſiveneſs, that they make a Pleaſure of Villany. Juſt as it happens in ſuch Perſons as when they cannot ſatiate their Intemperance upon Women, having made tryal of every thing elſe, and falling into vagaries, at laſt attempt things not to be mentioned; even ſo inordinateneſs in feeding, when it hath once paſſed the bounds of nature and neceſſity, ſtudies at laſt to diverſifie the Luſts of its intemperate Appetite by cruelty and villany. For the Senſes when they once quit their natural meaſures, ſympathize with each other in their diſtempers, and are enticed by each other to the ſame conſent and intemperance. Thus a diſtempered Ear firſt debauched Muſic, the ſoft and effeminate Notes of which provoketh immodeſt touches and laſcivious tickling. Theſe things firſt taught the Eye not to delight in merry Jiggs, geſticulations of Hands, Currants and Bores, nor in Statues and fine Paintings, but to reckon the ſlautering and death of Mankind, and Wounds and Duels, the moſt ſumptuous of Shews and Spectacles. Thus unlawful Tables are accompanied with intemperate Copulations with unmuſician-like Balls, and Theaters become monſtrous through ſhameleſs Songs and Rehearſals; and Barbarous and Brutiſh Shews, are again accompanied with an *unrelenting* temper, and ſavage cruelty towards Mankind. Hence it was that the Divine *Lycurgus* in his Three Books of Laws (called by him *Rhetræ*) gave Orders that the Doors and Ridges of Mens Houſes ſhould be made with a Saw and an Ax, and that no other Inſtrument ſhould ſo much as be brought to any Houſe. Not that he did hereby intend to declare War againſt Augres and Planes, and other Inſtruments of finer Work; but becauſe he very well knew that with ſuch Tools as theſe, you will never

bring into your Houſe a guilded Couch, and that you'll never attempt to bring into a ſlender Cottage either Silver Tables, Purple Carpets, or Coſtly-Stones: But that a plain Supper, and a homely Dinner muſt accompany ſuch a Houſe, Couch, Table and Cup. The beginning of a vitious Diet is preſently followed by all ſorts of Luxury and Expenſiveneſs:

Ev'n as a Mare is by her thirſty Coalt.

And what Meal is not expenſive, for which an Animal is put to death? Shall we reckon a Soul to be a ſmall expenſe? I will not ſay perhaps of a Mother, or a Father, or of ſome Friend, or Child, as *Empedocles* did; but one participating of Feeling, of Seeing, of Hearing, of *Imagination* and of *Intellection*; which each of them hath receiv'd from nature for the acquiring of what is agreeable to it, and the avoiding what is diſagreeable. Do but conſider this with your ſelf now, which ſort of Philoſophers render us moſt tame and civil, they who bid People to feed on their Children, Friends, Fathers and Wives, as if they were dead; or *Pythagoras* and *Empedocles*, that accuſtom Men to be juſt towards even the other *Members* of the *Creation*. You laugh at a Man that will not eat a Sheep: But we(they'll ſay again) when we ſee you cutting off the Parts of your dead Father or Mother, and ſending it to your abſent Friends, and calling upon and inviting your preſent Friends to eat the reſt freely and heartily, ſhall we not ſmile? Nay, peradventure we offend at this inſtant time while we touch theſe Books without having firſt cleanſed our Hands, Eyes, Feet and Ears: if it be not (by *Jupiter*) a ſufficient purgation of them, to have diſcourſed of theſe *Matters* in *potable* and freſh Language (as *Plato* ſpeaketh) thereby waſhing off the blackiſhneſs of Hearing. Now if a Man ſhould ſet theſe Books and Diſcourſes in oppoſition to each other, he will find that the Philoſophy of the one ſort, ſuits with the *Scythians*, *Sogdians* and *Melanchlanians*, of whom *Herodotus*'s Relation is ſcarce believed; but the Sentiments of *Pythagoras* and *Empedocles* were the Laws and Cuſtoms of the ancient

cient *Grecians*. Who then were the firſt Authors of this Opinion, that we owe no Juſtice to dumb Animals?

Who firſt beat out accurſed Steel.
And made the lab'ring Ox a Knife to feel.

In the very ſame manner Oppreſſors and Tyrants begin firſt to ſhed Blood. For Example, the firſt Man that the *Athenians* ever put to death, was one *Epitedius*, the baſeſt of all Knaves; after him they put to death a ſecond and a third: After this, being now accuſtomed to Blood, they patiently ſaw *Niceratus* the Son of *Nicias*, and their own General *Theramenes*, and *Polemarchus* the Philoſopher ſuffer death. Even ſo in the beginning ſome wild and miſchievous Beaſt was killed and eaten, and then ſome little Bird or Fiſh was entrapped. And Conqueſt being firſt experimented and exerciſed in theſe, at laſt paſſed even to the labouring Ox, and the Sheep that Cloaths us, and to the poor Cock that keeps the Houſe; until by little and little, unſatiableneſs being ſtrengthned by uſe, Men came to the ſlaughter of Men, to Bloodſhed and Wars. Now if one cannot demonſtrate and make out that Souls in their Regenerations make a promiſcuous uſe of all Bodies, and that that which is now rational will at another time be irrational, and that again tame which is now wild (for that nature changes and tranſmutes every thing;

With different Fleſhy Coats New Cloathing all)

This thing ſhould be ſufficient to change a Man that hath taken up an intemperate and luxurious Life, that it brings ſickneſs and heavineſs upon the Body, and that it inclines the mind the more brutiſhly to warm Bloodſhed and deſtruction: When we have once accuſtomed our ſelves neither to entertain a Gueſt, nor keep a Wedding, nor to treat our Friends, without Blood and Slaughter. And if what is argued about the return of Souls into Bodies, is not of Force enough to beget Faith, yet methinks the very uncertainty of the thing ſhould fill us with apprehenſion and fear. Suppoſe, for inſtance one ſhould in ſome Night-Engagement run on with

with his drawn Sword upon one that had fallen down and covered his Body with his Arms, and ſhould in the mean time hear one ſay, that he was not very ſure, but that he fanſied and believed, that the party lying there, was his Son, Brother, Father, or Tent-companion; which were more adviſable, think you, to hearken to a falſe ſuggeſtion and ſo to let go an Enemy under the notion of a Friend; or to ſlight an Authority not ſufficient to beget Faith, and to ſlay a Friend inſtead of a Foe? This you will all ſay would be inſupportable. Do but conſider the famous *Merope* in the Tragedy, who taking up a Hatchet, and lifting it at her Sons Head, whom ſhe took for her Sons Murtherer, ſpeaks thus as ſhe was ready to give the fatal blow;

Villain, this piercing blow ſhall cleave thy Head;

What a buſtle ſhe raiſes in the whole Theatre, while ſhe raiſes her ſelf to give the blow, and what a fear they are all in, leaſt ſhe ſhould prevent the Old Man that comes to ſtop her hand, and ſhould wound the Youth. Now if another Old Man ſhould ſtand by her and ſay, *ſtrike, it is thy Enemy*; and this, *Hold, it is thy Son*; which, think you, would be the greater Injuſtice, to omit the puniſhing of an Enemy for the ſake of ones Child, or to ſuffer ones ſelf to be tranſported with anger at ones Enemy to Murther ones Child! Since then neither hatred, nor wrath, nor any revenge, nor fear for our ſelves, carries us to the *ſlaughter* of a Beaſt, but the poor Sacrifice ſtands with an inclined neck only to ſatisfie thy luſt and pleaſure; and then one Philoſopher ſtands by and tells thee, *cut him down, it is but an unreaſonable Animal*, and another cries, *Hold, What if there ſhould be the Soul of ſome Kinſman, Or God incloſed in him*? Good Gods! Is there the like danger if I refuſe to eat Fleſh; or if I for want of Faith, Murther my Child, or ſome other Friend? The *Stoics* way of reaſoning upon this Subject of *Fleſh eating* is no way equal nor conſonant with themſelves. Who is this that hath ſo many Mouths for his Belly and the Kitchin? Whence comes it to paſs that they ſo very much womanize and reproach

reproach Pleaſure, as a thing that they will not allow to be either good or preferable, or ſo much as agreeable, and yet all on a ſudden become ſo zealous Advocates for Pleaſures? It were indeed but a reaſonable conſequence of their Doctrin, that ſince they baniſh Perfumes, and Cakes from their Banquets, they ſhould be much more averſe to Blood and to Fleſh. But now juſt as if they would reduce their Philoſophy to their Diaries, or Day-books, they leſſen the expences of their Suppers in certain unneceſſary and needleſs Matters, but the untam'd and Murtherous part of their expence they nothing boggle at. Well! What then (ſay they?) We have nothing to do with Brute Beaſts? Nor have you any with Perfumes, not with Foreign Sawces,(may ſome one anſwer:) And yet you every where expel theſe from your Banquets, as both uſeleſs and needleſs. Let us therefore in the next place conſider, whether we owe any Juſtice to the Brute Beaſts: Neither ſhall we handle this Point, artificially or like ſubtle Sophiſters, but by caſting our Eye into our own Breaſts, and converſing with our ſelves as Men, we will weigh and examin the whole Matter. ******

Plutarch's Morals: Vol. V.

The Lives of Ten Orators,

Tranſlated out of the Greek. *by* Charles Barcroft, *Lecturer of St.* Mildred Bread-ſtreet.

ANTIPHON. I.

Antiphon, the Son of *Sophilus*, by *Deſcent* a *Rhamnuſian*, was his Fathers Scholar, for he kept a Rhetoric School, to which, 'tis reported, that *Alcibiades* himſelf had recourſe in his Youth. Having attain'd to competent meaſure of Knowledge and Eloquence, and that, as ſome believe, from his own Natural Ingenuity, he dedicated his Study chiefly to Affairs of State. And yet he was for ſome time converſant in the Schools, and had

had a Controverſie with *Socrates* the Philoſopher, about the Reaſon of Diſputing; not ſo much for the Sake of Contention, as the Profit of going, as *Xenophon* tells us in his Commentaries of the Sayings, and Actions of *Socrates*. At the Requeſt of ſome Citizens he wrote Orations, by which they defended their Suits at Law; and ſome ſay, that he was the firſt that ever did any thing of this Nature: For it is certain there is not one Juridicial Oration extant, written by any Orator that liv'd before him, nor by his Contemporaries neither, as *Themiſtocles*, *Ariſtides* and *Pericles*, though the Times gave them opportunity, and there was need enough of the Labour in ſuch Buſineſs. Not that we are to impute it to their Want of Parts, that they did nothing in this way, for we may inform our ſelves of the contrary from what Hiſtorians relate of each of 'em. Beſides, if we inſpect the moſt Antient, *viz. Alcibiades*, *Critias*, *Liſias* and *Archinous*, who we ſhall find, that though they wrote in one and the ſame Stile, and had the ſame Form and Method in their Pleadings, yet they were in a great Meaſure beholding to *Antiphon*, when he was old. For being a Man of incomparable Sagacity, he was the firſt that publiſhed Inſtitutions of Oratory; and by reaſon of his profound Learning, he was Sirnamed *Neſtor*. *Cæcilius*, in a Tract which he wrote of him, ſuppoſes him to have been *Thucidides*'s Pupil, from what *Antiphon* delivered in praiſe of him. He is moſt accurate in his Orations; Invention ſubtile; and would frequently baffle his Adverſary at unawares, by a covert ſort of Pleading; in troubleſome and intricate Matters he was very judicious and ſharp; and as he was a great Admirer of Ornamental Speaking, he would always adapt his Orations to both Law and Reaſon.

He liv'd about the Time of the *Perſian* War, and of *Gorgias* the *Rhetorician*, being ſomewhat younger than he. And he lived to ſee the Subverſion of the Popular Government in the Common-wealth, which was wrought by the four hundred Conſpirators, in which he himſelf is thought to have had the chiefeſt Hand, being ſometimes

ſometimes Commander of two Gallies, and ſometimes holding the Prætorſhip, and having by the many and great Victories he obtain'd, gain'd them many Allies, he armed the young Men, man'd out ſixty Gallies, and on all their Occaſions went Ambaſſador to *Lacedæmonian*, at what time *Eetionia* was fortified. But when thoſe four hundred were overcome and taken down, he, with *Archiptolemus*, who was likewiſe one of the ſame Number, was accuſed to the Conſpiracy, Condemned and Sentenced to the Puniſhment due to Traytors, his Body caſt out unburied, and all his Poſterity infamous on Record. But there are ſome, who tells us, that he was put to Death by the thirty Tyrants; and among the reſt, *Lyſias*, in his Oration for *Antiphon*'s Daughter, ſays the ſame; for he left a little Daughter, whom *Calleſchius* claim'd for his Wife by the Law of Propinquity. And *Theopompus* likewiſe in his fifteenth Book of *Philippics*, tells us the ſame thing. But he is more tender of his Reputation than *Lycidonidas* his Father; and ſo is *Cratinus* in his *Pytine*, in that he does not mention the Evil he was guilty of. But how could he be Executed in the Time of the four Hundred, and afterward live to be put to Death by the Thirty Tyrants? There is likewiſe another Story of the Manner of his Death. That when he was old he ſail'd to *Syracuſe*, when the Tyranny of *Dionyſius* the Firſt, was moſt famous; and being at Table, a Queſtion was put, what ſort of Braſs was beſt? When others had anſwered, as they thought moſt proper, he replyed; *That is the beſt Braſs, of which the Statues of* Hermodius *and* Ariſtogiton *were made.* Which the Tyrans hearing, and taking it as a tacit Exhortation to his Subjects to contrive his Ruin, he commanded *Antiphon* to be put to Death; and, as ſome ſay, he unjuſtly gave out, that he was put to Death for deriding his Tragedies.

This Orator is reported to have written ſixty Orations; but *Cæcilius* ſuppoſes twenty five of them to be ſpurious and none of his. *Plato*, in his Comedies with *Piſander*, traduces him as a Covetous Man. He is reported to have compoſed ſome of his Tragedies alone,

and

and others with *Dionyſius* the Tyrant. While he was Poetically inclined, he invented an Art of Curing the Diſtemper of the Mind, as Phyſicians are wont to promiſe Cure of bodily Diſeaſes. And having at *Corinth* built him a little Houſe, in or near the Market, he ſet a Poſtſcript over the Gate, to this effect: *That he had a way to Cure the Diſtemper of Mens Minds by Words; and let him but know the cauſe of their Malady, he would immediately preſcribe the Remedy, to their Comfort.* But after ſome time, thinking that Art not worth his while, he betook himſelf to the Study and Teaching of Oratory. There are ſome who aſcribe the Book of *Glaucus Rhegi-nus* concerning Poets, to him as Author of it. His Orations concerning *Herodotus*, to *Eraſiſtratus* concerning Ideas, are very much contemned; and that which, when he was accuſed, he penn'd for himſelf, againſt a Law not recorded; and that againſt *Demoſthenes* the Prætor, touching public Offences. He likewiſe had another againſt *Hippocrates* the Prætor, in which he condemn'd him for his Contempt, in that he did not appear on the Day appointed for his Tryal; and this was done in the very time when *Theopompus* was Governour of the City, under whoſe Government the Power of the four hundred Conſpirators was overthrown.

Cecilius, has recorded the Decree of the Senate, for the Judicial Tryal of *Antiphon*, in theſe Words: That on the one and twentieth Day of *Prytaneia*, *Demonicus Alopecenſis* being then Notary-Publick, *Philoſtraus Pellenenſis* preferr'd a Bill from the Senate, wherein it was decreed, that thoſe Men, *viz. Archeptolemus*, *Oromacles* and *Antiphon*, whom the Prætors had declar'd againſt, for that they went in an Embaſſage to *Lacedæmonia*, to the great Damage of the City of *Athens*, and departed from the Camp into an Enemies ſhip, and ſo went thro' *Decelia* by Land; that they ſhould be apprehended and kept in Priſon, 'till they ſhould be brought to a legal Tryal: That the Prætors themſelves, with others of the Senate, to the Number of ten, whom it ſhould pleaſe them to name and chuſe, ſhould look after them to keep them ſafe till Judgment ſhould be paſs'd upon 'em: That

ment,

Theſmothetes ſhou'd on the Morrow after the Commitment, judicially cite the ſaid Priſoners before the Judges; both the Leaders, and others of the Conſpiracy, where the Bill being read, wherein they were accuſed of Treaſon, whoever had any thing to ſay againſt 'em, he ſhou'd be heard: That whoever ſhou'd then be Condemn'd, ſhou'd have Sentence pronounced againſt him, according to the preſcript Form of Condemnation, appointed by the Law in the Caſe of Treaſon. At the bottom of this Decree was ſubſcribed, *Archeptolemus*, the Son of *Hippodamus Agrylenſis*; and *Antiphon*, the Son of *Sophilus* the *Ramnuſian*, being both preſent in Court, are condemned of Treaſon. And this was to be their Puniſhment, That they ſhou'd be deliver'd to the eleven Executioners, their Goods confiſcated, the tenth part of 'em being firſt conſecrated to *Minerva*; their Houſes to be levell'd with the Ground, and in the Places where they ſtood, this Subſcription to be engraven on Braſs: The Houſe of *Archeptolemus* and of *Antiphon* Traytors. *** That *Archeptolemus* and *Antiphon* ſhou'd neither of 'em be buried in *Athens*, nor any where elſe under that Government. And beſides all this, that their Memory ſhou'd be accounted infamous to Poſterity, as well the Memory of Baſtards, as of their lawful Progeny; and he too was lookt upon with the ſame Contempt, who ſhou'd adopt any one of their Progeny for his Son. In a Word, that all this ſhou'd be engroſs'd and engraven on a Braſs Column, and that Column to be placed where that ſtands, on which is engraven the Decree concerning *Phrynicus*.

ANDOCIDES. II.

Andocides, the Son of that *Leogorus*, who once made a Peace with the *Athenians* againſt the *Lacedemonians*, by Deſcent a *Cydathenian* or *Phucian*, of a Noble Family, and as *Hellanicus* tells us, if we may believe him, the Off-ſpring of *Mercury* himſelf; for the Race of Heralds belong to him; and on this account he was choſen by the People to go with *Glaucon*, with twenty Sail of Ships to aid the *Corcyreans* againſt the *Corinthians*. But in proceſs of time, being accuſed of ſome notorious Acts of Impiety; as that he was of the Number of thoſe who

defaced the Statues of *Mercury*, and divulg'd the ſacred Myſteries of *Ceres*; and withal, being accuſed of Wildneſs and Intemperance, and that he had been ſeen in the Night in Maſquerade to break one of the Statues of *Mercury*; and when he refus'd to bring his Servant to Examination, whom his Accuſers named, he was not only convicted of the firſt, but alſo was very much ſuſpected to be guilty of the ſecond Crime too. Which later Action was laid to his Charge ſoon after the Expedition of the Navy ſent by the *Athenians* into *Sicily*. For as *Cratippus* informs us, when the *Corinthians* ſent the *Leontines* and *Ægeſians* to the *Athenians*, who were to lend them Aſſiſtance *incognito*, they in the Night defaced and brake all the Statues of *Mercury* which were erected in the Market. To which Offence, *Andocides* having added another, that of divulging the Myſteries of *Ceres*, he was brought to his Tryal, but was acquitted, on condition he wou'd diſcover who were Companions with him in the Crime. In which Affair, being very diligent, he found out who they were that had been guilty, and among the reſt, he diſcover'd his own Father. He prov'd all guilty, and caus'd them all to be put to Death, only his Father, whom he ſav'd though in Priſon, by a Promiſe of ſome eminent Service he wou'd do to the Common-wealth. Nor did he fail of what he promis'd; for *Leogoras* accuſed many who had acted in ſeveral Matters againſt the Intereſt of the Common-wealth, and for this was acquitted of his own Crime.

Now, though *Andocides* was very much eſteemed of for his Skill in the Management of the Affairs of the Common wealth; yet his Inclinations led him rather to Trafic by Sea; and by this means he contracted Friendſhip with the Kings of *Cyprus*, and other great Princes. At which time he privily ſtole a Damſel of the City, the Daughter of *Ariſtides*, and his own Neece, and ſent her as a Preſent to the King of *Cyprus*: But ſuſpecting he ſhou'd be call'd in queſtion for it, he again ſtole her from *Cyprus*, for which the King of *Cyprus* took him, and clapt him up in Priſon; whence he brake looſe, and return'd to *Athens*, juſt at that time when

when the four hundred Conſpirators had uſurped the Government. By whom being confined, he again eſcaped when the Power of Governing was lodg'd in a few. But when the thirty Tyrants were uppermoſt, he withdrew to *Elis*, and there lived, till *Thraſybulus* and his Faction returned into the City, and then he alſo repair'd thither. And after ſome time, being ſent into *Lacedæmonia* to conciliate a Peace, he was again ſuſpected to be faulty, and on that Suſpicion baniſhed.

He himſelf has given an account of all theſe Tranſactions in his Orations which he has left behind him: For ſome of 'em treat of the Crime of him who ſhakes off his Religion by a Violation of its Laws, as he did when he divulg'd the Myſteries of *Ceres*: Others repreſent a convicted Perſon begging Mercy of the Judge; and there is one extant, wherein he makes a Diſcovery of the wicked Practiſes of others, and one to *Phæax*, and one concerning Peace. He flouriſhed at the ſame time with *Socrates* the Philoſopher, he was born in the ſeventy eight Olympiade, when *Theogenides* was Governour of *Athens*, ſo that he ſhou'd ſeem to be almoſt an hundred years before *Lyſias*. There is an Image of *Mercury*, call'd from his Name *Andocideum*, being given by the Houſe of *Ægeis*, and it ſtood near the Houſe where *Andocides* dwelt. This *Andocides* himſelf was at the Charge of a publick Revel, in memory of the Name and Houſe of *Ægeis*, at the Celebration of the * Dithyrambics. And having gain'd a Victory, he erected a Tripos on an Aſcent oppoſite to the Country of *Perinus Selinus*.

* Feaſts or Songs dedicated to *Bacchus*.

His Stile in his Orations is plain and eaſie, without the leaſt Affectation, or any thing of a Figurative Ornament

LYSIAS III.

Lyſias, the Son of *Cephalus*, Grand Son of *Lyſanias*, and Great Graud-Son of *Cephalus*, was by Deſcent *Syracuſian*, but partly for the Love he had to the City, and partly in condeſcention to the Perſwaſions of *Pericles*, the Son of *Xantippus*, a great and rich Man there, who entertain'd him as his Friend and Gueſt, he went to live at *Athens*. Some ſay that he was baniſh'd

Syracuſe, when the City was under the Tyranny of *Gelo*. However, he entered *Athens* when *Philocles*, the Succeſſor of *Phraſicles* was Governour, in the ſecond Year of the eighty ſecond Olympiade. At his firſt coming, he was educated among the moſt Noble of the *Athenians*. But when the City ſent a Colony to *Sybaris*, which was afterwards call'd *Thurii*, he went thither with his elder Brother *Polemarchus*, his Father being now dead, for he had two other Brothers, *Eudemus* and *Barchillus*, that he might receive his Portion, or part of his Fathers Eſtate. This was done in the fifteenth Year of his Age, when *Praxiteles* was Governour. There then he ſtaid, and was brought up under *Nicias* and *Tiſias*, both *Siracuſians*. And having purchas'd a Houſe, he liv'd as a Citizen for above ſixty three years, till the Regency of *Clearchus*, having been Governour himſelf in his turn. In the Year following, in the Time of *Gallias*, *viz.* in the ninety ſecond Olympiade, when the *Athenians* had War with the *Sicilians*, and when other of their Allies revolted, and eſpecially the *Italians*, he being accuſed of favouring the *Athenians*, with three other of his Aſſociation was baniſh'd; when coming to *Athens*, in the Year wherein *Gallias* ſucceeded *Cleocritus* in the Government, which then labour'd under the Tyranny of the four hundred Conſpirators, he there ſat down. But after the Fight at * *Ægoſpotamos*, when the Thirty Tyrants had uſurp'd the Government, he was baniſhed thence for ſeven Years, his Goods confiſcated and having likewiſe loſt his Brother *Pomarchus*, he himſelf eſcaped by a Back door of the Houſe in which he was kept, fled to *Megara*, and there lived as one without hope of Recovery. But when the Citizens endeavour'd to return from *Phila*, he alſo behaved himſelf very well, and appear'd very active in the Affair, having to forward this great Enterprize, depoſited two thouſand Drachms of Siver, and two hundred Targets, and being Commiſſion'd with *Hermanes*, he maintain'd three hundred and two Men in Arms, and prevail'd with *Thraſilaus* the *Elian*, his old Friend an Hoſt, to contribute ſome Talents. Upon his entring the City

* *i.e.* The River of Goats.

City *Thraſibulus* propoſed, that for a Conſideration of his good Service to the Publick, he ſhould take upon him the Adminiſtration of the Common wealth, and be inveſted with the Government before *Euclides*. Which Propoſal being ratified by the People, *Archimus* objected that it was againſt the Laws, and a Judgment without Authority and therefore void of it ſelf. Whereupon being deceiv'd of his Right of Governing, he led the Remainder of his Life in private, and dyed at laſt at *Athens* being foreſcore and three years old, or as ſome would have it, ſeventy ſix, and others again ſay, that he liv'd above foreſcore years, till after the Birth of *Demoſthenes*. 'Tis ſuppos'd he was born in the Year of *Philecles*. There are four hundred and twenty five Orations which bear his Name, of which *Dionyſius* and *Cecilius* affirm only two hundred and thirty to be genuine, and he is ſaid to have been overcome but twice in all. There is extant alſo the Oration which he made in defence of the fore-mentioned Decree againſt *Archimus*, wherein he ſhews what Right he had to it, by his Converſation in the Common-wealth; as alſo another againſt the thirty Tyrants. He was very cogent in his Perſwaſions, and was always very brief in what he deliver'd. He would commonly give Orations to private Perſons. There are likewiſe his Inſtitutions of Oratory, his Lectures and Epiſtles, his Elogies, Funeral Orations, Diſcourſes of Love, and his Defence of *Soccates*, accomodated to the Minds of the Judges. His Stile ſeems plain and eaſie, though hardly imitable. *Demoſthenes* in his Oration againſt *Neæra*, ſays that he was in Love with one *Metanira Feæra*'s Serving maid; but afterwards married his Brother *Erachillus*'s Daughter. *Plato* in his *Phedrus* makes mention of him, as a moſt eloquent Orator, and antienter than *Iſocrates*. *Philiſcus*, his Companion, and *Iſocrates*'s Votary, compoſed an Epigram concerning him, whence the * ſame that we have urg'd from *Plato* is deducible: and it ſings to this effect;

* That he was before *Iſocrates*.

Thou witty Daughter of Callippe, *ſhew,*
If ought of Wit or Eloquence thou haſt;

For 'tis decreed that thou ſhalt bear a Son,
Lycius *by Name, to ſpread the Name of him,*
Whoſe great and generous Acts do fill the World,
And are receiv'd for Glorious above.
Let him who ſings thoſe Praiſes of the Dead,
Let him, my Friend, too, praiſe our Amity.

He likewiſe wrote an Oration for *Iphicrates*, againſt *Harmodius*; and another accuſing *Timotheus* of Treaſon, in both which he overcame. But when *Iphicrates* took upon him the Examination of *Timotheus*'s Actions, and wou'd purge him of the Allegation of Treaſon, *Lycias* wrote an Oration for him to deliver in his Defence; upon which he was acquitted; but *Timotheus* was fined in a conſiderable Sum of Money. He likewiſe delivered an Oration at the Olympic Games, in which he endeavour'd to convince the *Greeks*, of how great Advantage it wou'd be to 'em, if they cou'd but unanimouſly joyn to pull down the Tyrant *Dionyſius*.

ISOCRATES. IV.

Iſocrates was the Son of *Theodorus* and *Erechthian*, reckon'd among the meaner ſort of Citizens, and a Man who kept Servants under him to make Flutes, by which he got ſo much Money, as enabled him not only to bring up his Children after the moſt gentile Manner, but likewiſe to maintain a Choire (for beſides *Iſocrates*, he had other Sons, *viz.* *Teleſippus*, and *Diomneſtus*, and one Daughter.) And hence we may ſuppoſe thoſe two comical Poets, *Ariſtophanus* and *Stratis*, took occaſion to bring him on the Stage. He lived about the eighty ſixth Olympiad, *Lyſimachus* the *Myrrhinuſion* being Governour, about two and twenty Years after *Lyſias*, and ſeven before *Plato*. When he was a Boy, he was as well educated as any of the *Athenian* Children, being under the Tuition of *Prodicus* the *Cean*, *Gorgias* the *Leontine*, *Tiſias* the *Syracuſan*, and *Theramenes* the *Rhetorician*, whom when he was to be apprehended by the Order of the Thirty Tyrants, and flying for Succor to the Altar of the Senate, only *Iſocrates* ſtood his Friend, and for a long time conceal'd him. But after ſome time *Theramenes* adviſed him to deſiſt, becauſe, he told him,

it

it would be an Aggravation of his Grief, if any of his Friends ſhould come into Trouble for and with him. And 'tis ſaid, that he made uſe of certain Inſtitutions of Rhetoric, compoſed by him when he was ſlandered in Court; which Inſtitutions have ſince born *Boton*'s Name.

When *Iſocrates* was come to Man's Eſtate, he medled with nothing of State Affairs, both becauſe he had a very weak Voice, and becauſe he was ſomething timorous; and beſides theſe two Impediments, his Eſtate was much impair'd by the Loſs of a great part of his Patrimony in the War with the *Lacedæmonians*. It is the Opinion of ſome, that he compos'd ſome Orations, and eſpecially one concerning Barter. Having ſet up a School, he gave himſelf much to Writing, and the Study of Philoſophy, and then he wrote his Panegyrical Oration, and others which were uſed for Advice, ſome of which he deliver'd himſelf, and others he gave to others to pronounce for him; aiming thereby to perſwade the *Greeks* to the Study and Practice of ſuch things as were of moſt immediate concern to them. But his Endeavours in that way proving to no purpoſe, he gave thoſe things over, and opened a School in *Chios* firſt, as ſome will have it, having for a Beginning nine Scholars; and when they came to him to pay him for their Schooling, he weeping ſaid, *Now I ſee plainly that I am ſold to my Scholars.* He admitted all into his Acquaintance who deſir'd it. He was the firſt, that made a Separation between Brawling, and Solid Pleading and Arguments, to which latter he rather addicted himſelf. He inſtituted a Form of Magiſtracy in *Chios*, much the ſame with that at *Athens*. No School-maſter ever got ſo much, that he built and maintain'd a Gally at his own Charge. He had more than an hundred Scholars, and among others *Timotheus* the Son of *Conon* was one, with whom he viſited many Cities, and compoſed the Epiſtles which *Timotheus* ſent to the *Athenians*; who for his pains gave him a Talent of out that which he got of *Samos*. *Theopompus* likewiſe, the *Chian*, *Ephorus* the *Cumean* *Aſclepiades* the Writer of Tragedy

gedy, and *Theodecles*, who afterwards wrote Tragedies, too, were all *Iſocrates* Scholars. (The laſt of theſe had a Monument in the way to *Cyamites*, as we go to *Eleuſines*, of which now remains only Rubbiſh, there alſo he ſet up with his, the Statues of other famous Poets, of all which, only *Homer*'s is to be ſeen.) *Leodamus* alſo the *Athenian*, and *Lacritus* who gave Laws to the *Athenians*, were both his Scholars; And ſome ſay *Hyperides* and *Iſæus* too. They add likewiſe, that *Demoſthenes* alſo was very deſirous to learn of him; and becauſe he cou'd not give the full Rate, which was a thouſand Drachms, he offer'd him two hundred, the fifth part, if he wou'd teach him but the fifth part of his Art proportionable: To whom *Iſocrates* anſwer'd, *We do not uſe* Demoſthenes, *to impart our Skill by halves, but as Men ſell good Fiſh whole, or altogether, ſo, if thou haſt a Deſire to learn, we will teach thee our full Art, and not a piece of it.* He died in the Year when *Chæronides* was Governour, when being as *Hippocrates*'s public Exerciſe, he receiv'd the News of the Slaughter at *Chæronea*; for he was the Cauſe of his own Death by a four Days Faſt, which he then made, pronouncing juſt at his Departure the three Verſes which begin the three Tragedies of *Euripides*;

Danaus, *Father of the fifty Siſters.*
Pelops, *Son of* Tantalus, *in queſt of* Piſa,
Cadmus, *in time paſt going from* Sidonia.

He lived ninety eight Years, or, as ſome ſay, a hundred, not being able to behold *Greece* the fourth time brought into Slavery. The Year or, as ſome ſay, four Years before he died, he wrote his Panethenaic Oration; his Panegyric Oration ten Years before, as ſome tell us, fifteen, which he is ſuppoſed to have tranſlated out of *Gorgias* the *Leontine* and *Lyſias*. His Oration concerning Barter, he wrote when he was eighty two years old; and that to *Philip* a little before his Death. When he was old, he adopted *Aphareus*, the youngeſt of the three Sons of *Plathane*, the Daughter of *Hippias* the Orator, whom he married for his Son. He was very rich, both

but in reſpect of the great Sums of Money he exacted of his Scholars; and beſides that, he had at one time twenty Talents of *Nicocles*, King of *Cyprus*, for an Oration, which he dedicated to him. By reaſon of his Riches he became obnoxious to the Envy of others, and was three times named to build a Galley, which he evaded twice by the aſſiſtance of his Son and a counterfeit Sickneſs; but the third time he undertook it, tho' the Charge prov'd very great. A Father telling him, that he had allow'd his Son no other Companion then one Slave; *Iſocrates* reply'd, *Go thy way then, for one Slave thou ſhalt have two.* He ſtrove for the Prize which *Artemiſia* dedicated to the Honour and Memory of her Husband *Mauſolus*; but that Oration is loſt. He wrote alſo another Oration in praiſe of *Helen*, and one for *Aropagus*. Some ſay, that he died when he had faſted nine Days, ſome again, at four Days end; and that his Death took its Date from the Funeral Solemnities of thoſe that loſt their Lives at *Cheronea*. His Son *Aphareus* likewiſe wrote ſeveral Orations. He lies buried with all his Family near *Synoſarges*, on the Left-hand of the Hill; For there are interred *Iſocrates* and his Father *Theodorus*, and his Mother, and her Siſter *Anaco*, and his adoptive Son *Aphareus*, *Socrates* the Son of *Anaco*, and *Iſocrates* his Brother, bearing his Father's Name, and *Iſocrates*'s Nephews, the Sons of *Aphareus*, *Aphareus* and his Father *Theodorus*, and his Wife *Plathane*, the Mother of his adopted *Aphareus*; On the Tombs of whom were erected ſix Tables, which are now demoliſhed. But upon the Tomb of *Iſocrates* himſelf was placed a Ram thirty Cubits high, and on that a Mermaid of ſeven Cubits; which was an Emblem of his Eloquence; there is nothing more extant. There was alſo near it a Table having his Poets and School-maſter on it; and among the reſt, *Gorgias* inſpecting a Cæleſtial Globe, and *Iſocrates* ſtanding by him. There is likewiſe a Statue of his of Braſs in *Eleuſine*, dedicated by *Timothy* the Son of *Conon*, before the Entry of the Porch, with this Inſcription;

To the Fame and Honour of Iſocrates,
This Statue's Sacred to the Goddeſſes;
The Gift of Timothy.

This Statue was made by *Leochares*. There are three-ſcore Orations which bear his Name; of which, if we credit *Dionyſius*, only five and twenty are genuin; but according to *Cecilius*, twenty eight; and the reſt are accounted ſpurious. He was an utter Stranger to Oſtentation, inſomuch, that when there came at one time three Perſons to hear him declaim, he admitted but two of them, deſiring the third to come the next Day, for that two at once were to him as a full Theatre. He uſed to tell his Scholars that he taught his Art for ten Pounds; but he would give any Man ten thouſand, that cou'd teach him to be bold, and give him a good utterance. And being once asked, how he who was not very eloquent himſelf, cou'd make others ſo; he anſwered, *Juſt as a Whetſtone cannot cut, yet it will ſharpen Knives for that purpoſe.* Some ſay, that he wrote Inſtitutions to the Art of Oratory; others are of Opinion, that he had no Method of Teaching, but only Exerciſe. He wou'd never ask any thing of a Free-born Citizen. He uſed to injoyn his Scholars being preſent at public Acts, to repeat to him what was there delivered. He conceiv'd no little Sorrow for the Death of *Socrates*, inſomuch, that the next Day he put himſelf in Mourning. Being asked what was the Uſe and Force of Rhetoric, he anſwer'd, *To make great Matters appear ſmall, and ſmall great.* At a Feaſt with *Nicroceon*, the Tyrant of *Cyprus* being deſired by ſome of the Company to declaim up, on ſome Theme, he made anſwer, *That that was not a Seaſon for him to ſpeak his Mind, and he had no mind then to be Seaſonable.* Happening once to ſee *Sophocles* the *Tragedian* amorouſly eying a comely Boy, he ſaid to him, *It will become thee*, Sophocles, *not only to reſtrain thy Hands, but to turn away thine Eyes.* When *Ephorus* of *Cunes* left his School, before he had arriv'd at any good Proficiency, his Father *Demophilus* ſent him again with a ſecond Sum of Money in his Hand; at which, *Iſocrates* ſmiling,

ſmiling, he jocoſely call'd him *Diphorus*; that is, one that pays twice for his Learning. However, he took a great deal of Pains and Care with him, and went ſo far, as to put him in the way of writing Hiſtory.

He was wantonly given; and uſed to lie upon a Straw Mat for his Bed, and his Bolſter was commonly made moiſt with Saffron. He never married while he was was young, but in his old Age he kept a Miſs, whoſe Name was *Lagiſca*, and by her he had a Daughter, who died in the twelfth Year of her Age, before ſhe was married. He afterwards married *Plathane*, the Wife of *Hippia* the *Rhetorician*, who had three Sons, the youngeſt of which *Aphareus* by Name, he adopted for his own, as we ſaid before; and he erected a brazen Statue to him near *Olympius*, as it were a Column, with an Inſcription to this purpoſe:

In veneration of the mighty Jove,
His noble Parents and the Gods above,
Aphareus *this Statue here has ſet*,
The Statue of Iſocrates *his Father.*

He is ſaid to have run a Race on a ſwift Horſe, when he was but a Boy; for he is to be ſeen in this Poſture in the Cittadel or Tower, in the Tennis Court of the Prieſt of *Minerva*, in a Statue. There were but two Suits commenced againſt him in his whole Life; one whereof was with *Magaclides*, who provoked him to Barter; at the Tryal of which, he could not be perſonally preſent, by reaſon of Sickneſs; but ſending *Aphareus*, he nevertheleſs overcame. The other Suit was commenced againſt him by *Lyſimachus*, who wou'd have him come to a Barter, and likewiſe to be at the Charge of maintaining a Gally for the commonwealth. In this Caſe he was overthrown, and forced to depoſite the Money. But there was likewiſe a piece of Painting of his in *Pompeium*. *Aphareus* alſo wrote Orations both judicial and deliberative; as alſo a few Tragedies, to the Number of thirty ſeven; of which two are anſwer'd. He began to make his Works public in the Year of *Lyſiſtratus*, and continued it to the Year of *Syſigenes*,

ſigenes, that is, eight and twenty Years He: wrote likewiſe ſix civil Plays, and twice together went away with the Prize, and by other Actors he play'd two more, which he call'd * *Lenaics.*

From *Lenæus*, one of the Names of *Bacchus.*

There were to be ſeen in the Cittadel, the Statues of their Mother, of *Iſocrates*, *Theodorus* ann *Anaco* their Mothers Siſter. That of the Mothers is plac'd juſt by the Image of Health, or the Inſcription being chang'd, of *Anaco.* She had two Sons, *Alexander* by *Canes*, and *Uſicles* by *Lyſias.*

ISÆUS V.

Iſæus was born in *Chalcis*, when he came to *Athens*, he read *Lyſias*'s Works, whom he imitated ſo well, both as to his Stile, and his way of Reaſoning, that he who was not very well acquainted with their manner of Writing, could not tell which of the two was Author of many of their Orations. He flouriſhed after the *Peloponeſian* War, as we may conjecture from his Orations, and was in repute till the Reign of *Philip.* He taught *Demoſthenes*, not at his School, but privately, who gave him ten thouſand Drachms, by which Buſineſs he became very famous. Some ſay that he compos'd Orations for *Demoſthenes*, which he pronounced in oppoſition to his Tutors. He left behind him ſixty four Orations, of which fifty are his own; as likewiſe ſome peculiar Inſtitutions of Rhetoric. He was the firſt that uſed to ſpeak or write figuratively, and who addicted himſelf to civil Matters; which *Demoſthenes* chiefly followed. *Theopompus* the *Comedian* makes mention of him in his *Theſeus.*

ÆSCHINEUS VI.

HE was the Son of that *Atrometus*, who being baniſhed by the thirty Tyrants, was thereby a Means of reducing the Common-wealth to the Government of the People, and of his Wife *Glaucothea*; by Deſcent a *Cothocidian.* He was neither nobly born, nor Rich; but in his Youth, being ſtrong and well ſet, he addicted himſelf to all ſorts of bodily Excerciſes; and afterwards, if we may credit *Demoſthenes*, having a very clear Voice and good Pronunciation, he took to playing

ing of Tragedies, and in this he ſerved *Ariſtodemus* in his Bacchanals, playing in the School only the third Parts of the ancient Tragedies. When he was but a Boy, he was aſſiſting to his Father in teaching little Children their Letters, and when he was grown up, he liſted himſelf a private Centinel. Some think he was brought up under *Socrates* and *Plato*; but *Cæcilius* will have it that *Leodamus* was his Maſter. Being concern'd in the Affairs of the Common-wealth, he openly acted in oppoſition to *Demoſthenes* and his Faction; and was therefore employed in ſeveral Embaſſies, and eſpecially in one to *Philip*, to treat about Articles of Peace. For which *Demoſthenes* accuſed him for being the Cauſe of the Overthrow and Ruin of the *Phocæans*, and the Enflamer of War; which part he would have him thought to have acted in the Diet of the *Amphyctions* who choſe him one of their Deputies in that Aſſembly; and having made them a convenient Haven, put themſelves under *Philips* Protection, who being aſſiſted by *Æſchines*, took the Affair in hand, and ſoon conquer'd all *Phocis*. But *Æſchines*, notwithſtanding all that *Demoſthenes* could do, being favour'd by *Eubulus* the Son of *Spintharus*, a *Proballuſian*, who pleaded in his behalf, he carry'd his Cauſe by thirty Voices, and ſo was clear'd. Though ſome tell us, that there were Orations prepared by ſome Orators; but the News of the Conqueſt of *Cheronea* put a ſtop to the preſent Proceedings, and ſo the Suit fell.

Some time after this, *Philip* being dead, and his Son *Alexander* marching into *Aſia*, *Æſchines* impeached *Ctaſiphon* for acting againſt the Laws, in paſſing a Decree in favour of *Demoſthenes*. But he having not the fifth part of the Voices of the People on his ſide, he was forced to go in Exile to *Rhodes*, becauſe he would not pay the Mulct of a thouſand Drachms, in which he was fined, being overthrown at the Bar. Others ſay, that to add to his Crime, he would not depart the City; and that he went to *Alexander* at *Epheſus*. But upon the Death of *Alexander*, when the Tumult was at the higheſt, he went to *Rhodes*, and there opened a Shool and taught.

And

And on a time pronouncing the Oration which he had formerly made against *Cteſiphon* to pleaſure the *Rhodians*, he did it with that Grace, that they wondred how he cou'd fail of carrying his Cauſe, if he pleaded ſo well for himſelf: *But, wonder not*, ſaid he, *that I was overthrown, becauſe ye did not hear* Demoſthene *pleading againſt me.* He left a School behind him at *Rhodes*, which was afterwards call'd the *Rhodian* School. Thence he ſailed to *Samos*, and there in a ſhort time died. He had a very good Voice, as both *Demoſthenes* and *Demochares* teſtified of him.

Four Orations bear his Name, one of which was againſt *Timarchus*, one concerning a falſe Ambaſſage, a third againſt *Cteſiphon*, which three are really his own; but the fourth, call'd *Deliaca*, is none of his; for though he was named to plead the Cauſe of the Temple at *Delos*, yet *Demoſthenes* tell us that *Hyperides* was choſen in his ſtead. He ſays himſelf, that he had two Brothers, *Aphobus* and *Demochares*. He was the firſt that brought the *Athenians* the News of the Victory obtained at *Tamyne*, for which he was crowned. Some report that *Æſchines* was never any mans Scholar; but having learned to write indifferently well, he by that means arrived to his Skill in Rhetoric. His firſt public Appearance was in a Speech againſt *Philip*; with which the People being pleaſed, he was imediately choſen to go Ambaſſador to the *Arcadians*, and being come thither he raiſed ſome thouſands of Men againſt *Philip*. He indicted *Timarchus* for keeping a Brothel, who fearing the Iſſue, deſerted his Cauſe and hang'd himſelf, as *Demoſthenes* ſomewhere informs us. Being imploy'd with *Cteſiphon* and *Demoſthenes* in an Embaſſage to *Philip* to treat of Peace, he appear'd the moſt accompliſhed of the three. Another time alſo he was the tenth Man ſent in Ambaſſage to conclude a Peace, and being afterwards call'd to anſwer it, he was acquitted, as we ſaid before.

LYCURGUS. VII.

Lycurgus was the Son of *Lycophron*, and Grandſon of that *Lycurgus* whom the thirty Tyrants put to Death

Death, by the Procurement of *Ariſtodimus* the *Batiſian*, who alſo being Queſtor, or Treaſurer of the *Greeks*, was baniſhed in the time of the Popular Government. He was a *Butadian* by Country, of the Line or Family of the *Etrobutades*. He receiv'd his firſt Inſtitutions of Philoſophy from *Plato* the Philoſopher. But afterward entring himſelf a Scholar to *Iſocrates* the Orator, he employ'd his Study about Affairs of the Common-wealth. And to his care was commited the Diſpoſal and Management of the City-Stock, and ſo he executed the Office of Treaſurer-General for the ſpace of fifteen Years; in which time there went through his Hands fourteen Millions of Talents, or as ſome will have it, fourſcoure Millions, ſix hundred and fifty. It was the Orator *Stratocles* that procured him this Preferment, who as his Friend recommended him to the People, though he was firſt choſen for his own ſake: for there was a Law, that no Man ſhou'd be choſen Treaſurer for above the Term of five Years. But *Lycurgus* plyed his Buſineſs cloſely, both Summer and Winter, in the Adminiſtration of public Affairs. And being entruſted to make Proviſion of all Neceſſaries for the Wars, he reformed many Abuſes that were crept into the Common-wealth. He built four hundred Galleys for the uſe of the Public: And prepar'd and fitted a Place for public Exerciſes in *Lycæum*, and planted Trees before it; he likewiſe built a Wreſtling Court, and was at laſt made Surveyor of the Theatre of *Bacchus*. He was likewiſe of ſo great repute among all ſorts, that he was entruſted with two hundred and fifty Talents of private Citizens. He adorn'd and beautified the City with gold and ſilver Veſſels of State and golden Lawrels. He likewiſe finiſhed many things that were as yet imperfect, as the Arſenals, Armories, *&c.* He built a Wall alſo about the ſpacious Panathenaic Cloiſter, and made level a piece of uneven Ground, given by one *Diſicas* to *Lycurgus* for the uſe of the City. The keeping of the City was committed wholly to his Care, and Power to apprehend Malefactors, of whom he clear'd the City by degrees: So that ſome Sophiſters were wont to ſay, that,

that *Lycurgus* did not dip his Pen in Ink, but in Blood And therefore it was, that when *Alexander* demanded him of the People, they would not deliver him up. When *Philip* made the ſecond War upon the *Athenians*, he was employed with *Demoſthenes* and *Polyeucles* in an Embaſſie to *Peloponneſus* and other Cities. He was always in great repute and eſteem with the *Athenians*, and looked upon as a man of that Juſtice and Integrity that in the Courts of Judicature his good Word was at all times prevailent on the Behalf of thoſe Perſons for whom he undertook to ſpeak. He was the Author of ſeveral Laws; one of which was, that there ſhou'd be certain Comedies plaid at the *Chytrian* Solemnities, and whoever of the Poets or Players ſhou'd come off Victor, he ſhou'd thereby be inveſted with a Freedom, which before was not lawful; and ſo he revived a Solemnity, which for want of Encouragement, had for ſome time before been out of requeſt. Another of his Laws, was that the City ſhou'd erect Statues to the Memory of *Aſchylus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides*; and that their Tragedies being fairly engroſſed, ſhou'd be preſerved in the public Conſiſtory, and that they ſhou'd be read by the public Notaries, becauſe it was not lawful for the Players to act them. A third Law propoſed by him, was, That no *Athenian*, nor any Perſon inhabiting in *Athens*, ſhou'd be permitted to ſell a Captive, who was free before, to be a Slave, without the Conſent of his former Maſter. Further, that in *Piræeum* there ſhou'd be at laſt three circular Dances play'd to *Neptune*; and that to the Victor in the firſt, ſhou'd be given ten Pounds; to the ſecond, eight; and to the third, ſix. Alſo, that no Woman ſhould go to *Eleuſine* in a Coach leſt the Poor ſhou'd appear more deſpicable than the Rich, and ſo be dejected and caſt down; and that whoever ſhou'd ride in a Coach contrary to this Law ſhou'd be fin'd ſix thouſand Drachms. And when even his own Wife was taken in the Violation of it, he paid to the Diſcoverers of it a whole Talent, for which being afterwards call'd in queſtion by the People: *See therefore*, ſaid he, *I am call'd to anſwer for giving, and not for receiving Money.*

As he was walking one Day in the Streets, he ſaw an Officer lay Hand on *Xenocretes* the Philoſopher, and when nothing wou'd ſerve his turn but the Philoſopher muſt to Priſon, becauſe he had not depoſited the Tribute due from Strangers; he with his Staff ſtruck the Officer on the Head for his unmannerly Roughneſs toward a Perſon of that Character, and freeing *Xenocrates*, caſt the other into Priſon in his ſtead. And not many Days after, *Xenocrates* meeting with the Children of *Lycurgus*, *I made the more haſte*, ſaid he, *to them, to give your Father Thanks for his Friendſhip to me, becauſe I heard his undeſerved Kindneſs commended by all People where I go.* He made likewiſe ſeveral Decrees, in which he made uſe of the Works of *Euclides*, one very expert in ſuch Matters. Though he was rich enough, yet he was uſed to wear the ſame Coat, and the ſame Shoos every Day, both Summer and Winter. Becauſe he was not ſo ready and apt as ſome others, to ſpeak to any thing *ex tempore*, he uſed to imitate and ſtudy Day and Night. And to the end he might not at any time overſleep himſelf, and ſo loſe time from his ſtudy, he uſed to cover himſelf on his Bed only with a Sheep's-skin, with the Wooll on, and to lay a hard Bolſter under his Head. When one reproached him for being in fee with Rhetoricians, when he ſtudied his Orations, he anſwered; *That, if a Man wou'd promiſe to reſtore his Sons better, he wou'd give him not only a thouſand Deniers; but half what he was worth.* He took the Liberty of ſpeaking boldly upon all occaſions, by reaſon of his Greatneſs; as when once the *Athenians* interrupted him in his ſpeaking, he cryed out, *O thou* Corcyræan *Whip, how many Talents art thou worth?* And another time, when ſome wou'd rank *Alexander* among the Gods; *What manner of God*, ſaid he, *muſt he be, when all that go out of his Temple had need to be dipp'd in Water to purifie themſelves?*

After his Death, *Meneſæchmus* accuſing and indicting them by Virtue of an Inſtrument drawn by *Thracycles*, his Sons were deliver'd to the eleven Executioners of Juſtice. But *Demoſthenes*, being in Exile, wrote to the *Athenians*, to let them know that they were wrongfully

accuſed, and that therefore they did not well to hear their Accuſers; upon which they recanted what they had done, and ſet them at liberty again; *Democles*, who was *Theophraſtus*'s Scholar, likewiſe pleading in their Defence. *Lycurgus* and ſome of his Poſterity were buried publickly, at, or near the Temple of *Minerva Pœonia*, where their Monuments ſtand in the Garden of *Melanthius* the Philoſopher, on which are Inſcriptions to *Lycurgus* and his Children, which are yet extant. The greateſt thing he did while he lived, was his raiſing the Revenue of the Commons totally from ſixty Talents, as he found it, to twelve hundred. When he found he muſt die, he was by his own appointment carried into the Temple, and into the Senate-houſe; being willing before his Death to give an account of his Adminiſtration: And no Man daring to accuſe him of any thing except one *Meneſæchmus*; having purged himſelf from thoſe Calumnies he caſt upon him, he was carried Home again, where in a ſhort time he ended his Life. He was always accounted Honeſt, his Orations were commended for the Eloquence they carried in them, and though he was often accuſed, yet he never was overthrown in any Suit.

He had three Children by *Calliſto*, the Daughter of *Abron*, and Siſter of *Calœus Abron*'s Son, by Deſcent a *Bateſian*, I mean, of him, who when *Charondas* was Governour, was Treaſurer, or Pay-maſter to the Army. Of this Affinity *Dinarchus* ſpeaks in his Oration againſt *Paſtius*. He left behind him three Sons, *Abron*, *Lycurgus* and *Lychophron*; of which, *Abron* and *Lycurgus* died without Iſſue, though the firſt, *Abron*, did for ſome time act very acceptably and worthily in Affairs of the Common-wealth. *Lycophron* marrying *Calliſtomacha*, the Daughter of *Philip Aixenes*, begat *Calliſto*, who married *Cleombrotus* the Son of *Dinocrates* the *Acharnanian*, to whom ſhe bare *Lycophron*, who being adopted by his Grand-Father, died without Iſſue. He being dead, *Socrates* married *Caliſto*, of whom he had his Son *Symmachus*. To him was born *Ariſtonymus*, to *Ariſtonymus*, *Charmides*, who was the Father of *Philippe*. Of her and *Lyſander*

came

came *Medius*, who alſo was an Interpreter, one of the *Eumolpides*. He begat two Children of *Timothea*, the Daughter of *Glaucus*, viz. *Laodamia* and *Medius*, who were Prieſts of *Neptune Erectheus*; alſo *Philippa* a Daughter, who was afterward Prieſteſs of *Minerva*: for before, ſhe was married *Diocles* the *Milettean*, to whom ſhe bare a Son named *Diocles*, who was a Collonel of a Regiment of Foot. He married *Hediſte*, the Daughter of *Abron*, and of her begat *Philippide* and *Nicoſtrata*; whom *Themiſtocles* the Torch-bearer, Son of *Theophraſtus* married, and by her had *Theophraſtus* and *Diocles*, and he likewiſe conſtituted the Prieſthood of *Neptune Erectheus*.

'Tis ſaid, that he penn'd fifteen Orations. He was often Crown'd by the People, and had Statues dedicated to him. His Image in Braſs was ſet up in *Ceramicum*, by order of the Public, in the time of *Anaxicrates*; in whoſe time alſo it was order'd that he and his eldeſt Son ſhou'd be provided for with Diet in *Prytaneum*; and he being dead, *Lychophron* his eldeſt Son ſued for that Donation. This *Lycurgus* alſo was uſed frequently to plead on the account of Sacred things; and accuſed *Antolichus* the *Areopagite*, *Lyſicles* the Prætor *Aemades* the Son of *Aemias*, *Meneſachmus*, and many others, all whom he cauſed to be condemned as guilty. *Diphilas* alſo was called in queſtion by him, for impairing and diminiſhing the Props of the Metal Mines, and ſo unjuſtly making himſelf Rich, and cauſed him to be condemned to die, according to the Proviſion made by the Laws in that Caſe. He gave out of his own Stock, fifty Drachms to every Citizen, the Sum total of which Donation, amounted to one hundred and ſixty Talents; but ſome ſay he gave a pound of Silver to each. He likewiſe accuſed *Ariſtogiton*, *Cleocrates* and *Antolimus*, for appearing as Free-men, when they were known to be but as it were Slaves. He was Sirnamed *Lycurgus Ibis*, which in Engliſh ſounds, *A black Stork*; and they would compare him to *Xenophon Nicteris*, which in plainer terms, is *Owl*. His Anceſtors derived their Pedigree from *Erectheus*, the Son of the Earth, and of *Vulcan*; but he was near-

eſt to *Lycomedes* and *Lycurgus*, whom the People honoured with public Solemnities. There is a Succeſſion of their Race of the Prieſts of *Neptune*, in a compleat Table which is placed in the Temple at *Erectheium*, drawn by *Iſmenias* the *Chalcidian*; in the ſame place alſo ſtood the Images of *Lycurgus*, and of his Son *Abron*, *Lycurgus* and *Lyciphron*; and by them *Timarchus* and *Cephiſodotus* the Son of *Praxiteles*. His Son *Abron* dedicated the Table, and coming to the Prieſthood by right of Succeſſion, he reſigned to his Brother *Lycophron*, and hence it is painted as giving a Trident. But *Lycurgus* had made a Draught of all his Actions, and hung it on a Column before the Wreſtling-Court built by himſelf, that all might read that would; and no Man could accuſe him of any Offence. He likewiſe referred to the People, the Crowning of *Neoptolemus*, the Son of *Anticles*, and to dedicate Statues to him, becauſe he had promiſed and undertaken to cover the Altar of *Apollo* in the Market with Gold, according to the Order of the Oracle. He decreed Honours likewiſe to *Diotimus*, the Son of *Diopithes* of *Eunomos*, in the year when *Cleſicles* was Governour.

DEMOSTHENES. VIII.

Demoſthenes, the Son of *Demoſthenes*, by *Cleobule*, the Daughter of *Gilon*, a *Paanian* by Deſcent; he was left an Orphan by his Father, when he was but ſeven years old, together with a Siſter of the Age of five. Being kept by his Mother during his Non-age, he went to School to *Iſocrates*, ſay ſome, but the Generality are of Opinion that he was Pupil to *Iſæus* the *Chalcidian*, who lived in *Athens*, and was *Iſocrates*'s Scholar. Some ſay he was initiated by *Thucidides* and *Plato*, and they affirm that he more eſpecially followed the laſt of theſe two. *Hegeſias* the *Magneſian* writes, that he intreated his Maſter's Leave to go hear *Calliſtratus* the Son of *Empædus*, an *Amphiduran*, a noble Orator, and ſometime Commander of a Troop of Horſe, who had dedicated an Altar to *Mercury Agoraios*, and was to make an Oration to the People: Whom, when he heard

heard him, he loved, and ſo long as he continued at *Athens*, became his Diſciple.

But *Calliſtratus* being ſometime after baniſhed, *Demoſthenes* being arrived at ſome years of Maturity, he joyned with *Iſocrates* and *Plato*. After this, he took *Iſæus* into his Houſe, and for the ſpace of four years labour'd very hard in imitation of his Orations. Though *Cleſibius* in his Book of Philoſophy, affirms, that by the help of *Callias* the *Syracuſian*, he got the Orations of *Zethus* the *Amphipolite*, and by the aſſiſtance of *Charicles*, thoſe alſo of *Alcidamus* the *Chariſtian*, and devoted himſelf to the Imitation of them. When he came to Age, in the Year of *Timocrates*, he call'd his Tutors and Guardians to account for their Male-adminiſtration, in not allowing him what was fitting and requiſite out of his Eſtate, while he was under their Tuition. And theſe Tutors or Guardians were three, *Aphobus*, *Theripides* and *Demophon*, alias *Demea*, the laſt of whom, being his Uncle, he charged more ſeverely than the other two. He arreſted each of them in an Action of ten Talents, and caſt them, but did not exact of them what the Law had given him.

When *Ariſtophon*, by the reaſon of his Age, cou'd not hold the Government any longer, he was choſen Choragor, or Overſeer of the Dances. During the Execution of which Office, *Medias* the *Anagiraten* ſtriking him as he was ordering the Dances in the Theatre, he ſued him upon it, but let fall his Suit upon *Medias*'s paying him three thouſand Drachms.

'Tis reported of him, that while he was a Youth, he confined himſelf to a Den or Cave, and there ſtudied his Oration, and ſhaved half of his Head, that he might not be allured to divert himſelf from it; and that he lay upon a very narrow Bed, that he might awake and riſe the ſooner. And for that he cou'd not very well pronounce the letter R. He accuſtomed himſelf very much to that, that he might maſter it if poſſible; and uſing likewiſe an unſeemly Motion of his Shoulder when he ſpake at any time, he remedied that by a Spit, or, as ſome ſay, a Sword ſtuck in the Ceiling juſt over his Shoulder, that

the Fear of being prick'd with it might break him off that indecent Geſture. They report of him further, that when he cou'd declaim pretty well, that he had a ſort of Looking-glaſs as big as himſelf, and uſed always in declaiming, to look in that, to the end he might ſee, and correct what was amiſs. He uſed likewiſe at ſome certain times to go down to the *Phalerian* Shore, to the end, that being accuſtomed to the Surges, and Noiſe of the Waves, he might not be daunted by the Clamors of the People, when he ſhou'd at any time declaim in public. And being naturally ſhort winded, he gave *Neoptolemus* a Player, ten thouſand Drachms to teach him to pronounce long Sentences in one Breath.

Afterwards, betaking himſelf to the affairs of the Common-wealth and finding the People divided into two different Factions, one in favour of *Philip*, and the other ſtanding for the Liberties and Properties of the People; he took part with them that oppoſed *Philip*, and always perſwaded the Citizens to help thoſe who were in danger and trouble by *Philips* Oppreſſion; taking for his Companions in Council, *Hyperides*, *Nauſicles*, *Polyenctus* and *Diotimus*; and then he drew the *Thebans*, *Eubœans*, *Corcyreans*, *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, and many more into a League with the *Athenians*. Being abroad one day, and his Memory failing him, his Oration was hiſs'd; which made him return home very heavy and melancholy; and being met by *Eunomus* the *Thraſian*, an old Man, by him he was comforted and encouraged. But chiefly he was animated by *Andronicus* the Player, who told him that his Orations were excellent, but that he wanted ſomething of Action. And ſo when he was asked what was the firſt part of Oratory, he anſwered, *Action*; and which was the ſecond, he replied, *Action*; and which was the third, he ſtill anſwered, *Action*. Another time, declaiming publickly, and uſing Expreſſions too youthful for one of his Years and Gravity, he was laugh'd at, and ridicul'd by the *Comedians*, *Antiphanes* and *Timocles*, who in deriſion uſed to repeat ſuch Phraſes as theſe, as utter'd by him ——

Μὰ γῆν, μὰ Κρήνας μὰ ποταμοὺς, μὰ νάματα.

(*Floods.*

By the Earth, by the Fountains, by the Rivers, by the

For having ſworn thus in preſence of the People, he raiſed a Tumult about him. He likewiſe once ſware by *Aſclepius*, and made the *Antepenultima* long through ſome Miſtake, and yet afterward defend it: For this *Aſclepius* was called, Θεὸς ἤμερος, that is, a mild God, by which Name he often invoked him. But all theſe things he reform'd in time, being ſometime converſant with *Eubulides* the *Mileſian* Rhetorician. Being on a time preſent at the Olympic Games, and hearing *Lamachus* the *Terinæan* ſound the Praiſes of *Philip*, and of *Alexander* the Great, his Son, and decry the Cowardize of the *Thebans* and *Olynthians*, he ſtood up in their Defence againſt him, and from the ancient Poets he proclaim'd the great and noble Atchievements of the *Thebans* and *Olynthians*; and ſo elegantly he behaved himſelf in this Affair, that he at once ſilenced *Lamachus*, and made him convey himſelf immediately out of the Aſſembly. And even *Philip* himſelf, when he heard what an Harangue he made againſt him, replied, *That if he had heard himſelf, he ſhould have been apt to commend him, and to have choſen him to make War againſt himſelf.* He was uſed to compare *Demoſthenes*'s Orations to Souldiers, for the Force they carried along with them; but the Orations of *Iſocrates* to Fencers, becauſe of the Theatrical Delight that accompanied them.

Being about the Age of ſeven and thirty, reckoning from *Dexitheus* to *Callimachus*, in whoſe time the *Olynthians* ſent to beg Aid of the *Athenians* againſt *Philip*, who then made War upon them, he perſwaded them to anſwer the *Olynthians* Requeſt; but in the following Year, in which *Plato* died, *Philip* overthrew and deſtroyed the *Olynthians*. *Xenophon* alſo, the Scholar of *Socrates*, had ſome knowledge of *Demoſthenes*, either at his firſt Riſe, or at leaſt, when he was moſt famous and flouriſhing: For he wrote the Acts of the *Greeks*, as touching what paſſed at the Battle of *Mantinea*, in the

Year of *Charicles*; our *Demoſthenes* having ſome time before overthrown his Guardians, in a Suit he had commenced againſt them, of which mention is made already. When *Æſchines*, being condemn'd, fled toward *Athens*, *Demoſthenes* hearing of it, he took Horſe and rode after him; which *Æſchines* underſtanding, and fearing to be apprehended again, he came out to meet *Demoſthenes*, and fell at his Feet, cover'd his Face, and begg'd his Mercy; upon which *Demoſthenes* bid him ſtand up, aſſured of his Favour, and as a Pledge of it, gave him a Talent of Silver. He adviſed the People to maintain a Company of mercenary Souldiers in *Thaſos*, and thither ſailed himſelf as Captain of the Galleys. Another time, being entruſted to buy Corn, he was accuſed of defrauding the City, but cleared himſelf of the Accuſation, and was acquitted. When *Philip* made War upon *Elatia*, and overcame it, *Demoſthenes* with others went to the War of *Cæronea*, where he is ſaid to have deſerted his Colours, and flying away, a Bramble caught hold of his Veſt behind, when turning about in haſt, thinking an Enemy had overtaken him, he cry'd out. *Save my Life, and ſay what ſhall be my Ranſom.* On his Buckler he had engraven for his Motto, *Good Fortune.* And it was he that the made Orations at the Funerals of ſuch as died in the Field.

After theſe things, he bent his whole Care and ſtudy for the reparation and adorning of the City and Wall; and beſides what Money he expended of the City Stock, he laid out of his own Pocket at leaſt an hundred pounds. And beſides this, he gave ten thouſand to thoſe who were concern'd about things Sacred, and taking Ship, he ſail'd from Coaſt to Coaſt to collect Money of the Allies; for which he was often by *Demotelus*, *Ariſtonicus* and *Hyperides*, crowned with golden Crowns, and afterwards by *Cteſiphon*. Which afterwards had like to have been retracted, *Diodotus* and *Æſchines* endeavouring to prove it to be contrary to the Laws; but he defending himſelf ſo well againſt their Allegations, that he overcame all Difficulties, his Enemies not having the fifth part of the Votes of the People.

After

After this, when *Alexander* the Great made his Expedition into *Aſia*, and *Harpalus* fled to *Athens* with a great Sum of Money; at firſt he wou'd not let him be entertain'd, but afterwards, he being landed, and having giving him a thouſand Darics, he was of another Mind; and when the *Athenians* determin'd to deliver *Harpalus* up to *Antipater*, he oppos'd it, averring that the Money was laid up in the Cittadel, ordering the Sum to be declar'd to the People, and accordingly *Harpalus* told them, it was ſeven hundred and fifty Talents, or ſomewhat more, according to *Philochorus*. But when *Harpalus* broke out of the Priſon wherein he was kept till ſome Perſon ſhould come from *Alexander*, and was eſcap'd into *Crete*, or, as ſome will have it, into *Tænarus* in *Laconia*; *Demoſthenes* was accuſed that he had let him go for a Sum of Money; and that he had not given a true Account of the Sum delivered to him; nor had he impeach'd the Negligence of the Keepers of both him and the Money; and ſo he was judicially cited by *Hyperides*, *Pytheus*, *Meneſæchmus*, *Himereus* and *Patrocles*, who proſecuted him ſo ſeverly, as to cauſe him to be condemn'd in the Court of *Areopagus*; and being condemn'd, he went into Exile, not being able to pay five fold; for he was accus'd of receiving thirty Talents: Others ſay, that he would not run the Riſque of a Tryal, but went into Baniſhment before the Day came. After this Tempeſt was over, when the *Athenians* ſent *Polyeuctus* to the Republic of *Arcadia*, to draw them off from the Alliance of the *Macedonians*, he not ſucceeding, *Demoſthenes* appear'd to ſecond him, where he reaſon'd ſo effectually, that he eaſily prevail'd. Which procur'd him ſo much Credit and Eſteem, that after ſome time a Gally was diſpatch'd to call him Home again. And the *Athenians* decreed, that whereas he ow'd the State thirty Talents, as a Fine laid on him for the Miſdemeanor he was accuſed of, he ſhou'd be excus'd only for building an Altar to *Jupiter Servator* in the *Piræum*; which Decree was firſt propos'd by *Damon* his near Kinſman.

This being agreed on, he return'd to the Adminiſtration of Affairs in the Common-wealth again. But when

Antipater

Antipater was blockt up in *Lamia*, and the *Athenians* offer'd Sacrifices for the happy News, he happen'd, being talking with *Ageſiſtratus*, one of his intimate Friends, to ſay, that his Judgment concerning the State of Affairs, did not jump with other Mens, for that he knew the *Greeks* were brisk and ready enough for a ſhort Encounter, but were not able to endure a laſting War. When *Antipater* had taken *Pharſales*, and threatned to beſiege *Athens* it ſelf, if they refus'd to deliver up ſuch Orators as had declaim'd again him: *Demoſthenes* ſuſpecting himſelf to be one of the Number, left the City, and fled firſt into *Egina*, that he might take Sanctuary in the Temple of *Æacus*; but being afraid to truſt himſelf long there, he went over to *Calaurea*; and when the *Athenians* had decreed to deliver up thoſe Orators, and him eſpecially as one of them, he continued a Suppliant in the Temple of *Neptune*. When *Archias*, who from his Office of purſuing Fugitives, was call'd *Phygadotheres*, came thither, who was the Scholar of *Anaximenes* the Orator; when he, I ſay, came to him, and perſwaded him to go with him, telling him, that no doubt he ſhould be receiv'd by *Antipater* as a Friend; he reply'd, *When you play a part in a Tragedy, you cannot perſwade me to believe you the Perſon you repreſent; no more ſhall you now perſwade me by your Counſel.* And when *Archias* endeavour'd to force him thence, the Townſ-men would not ſuffer it. And *Demoſthenes* told them, that he did not flee to *Calabria* to ſave his Life, but that he might convince the *Macedonians* of their Violence committed, even againſt the Gods themſelves. And with that he call'd for a Writing-Table, and if we may credit *Demetrius* the *Magneſian*, on that he wrote this Diſtic, which afterwards the *Athenians* caus'd to be affix'd to his Statue; and 'twas to this purpoſe:

Hadſt thou, Demoſthenes, *an outward Force,*
Grace as thy inward Magnanimity;
Greece *ſhou'd not wear the* Macedonian *Yoke.*

This Statue made by *Polyeuctus*, is plac'd near the Cloiſter, where the Altar of the twelve Gods is erected

ed. Some ſay this Writing was found; *Demoſthenes* to *Antipater* Greeting. *Philocorus* tells us that he died by drinking of Poyſon; but *Satyrus* the Hiſtoriographer will have it, that the Pen was poiſon'd with which he wrote his Epiſtle, and putting it into his Mouth, ſoon after he taſted it he died. *Eratoſthenes* is of another Opinion, *viz.* that being in continual Fear of the *Macedonians*, he wore a poiſon'd Bracelet on his Arms. Others ſay again, that he died with holding his Breath; and others, laſtly, ſay, that he carry'd ſtrong Poyſon in his Signet ** two and twenty.

When King *Philip* was dead, he appear'd publickly in a glorious Robe or Mantle, as rejoycing for his Death, though he but juſt before mourn'd for his Daughter. He aſſiſted the *Thebans* likewiſe againſt *Alexander*, and animated all the other *Greeks*. So that when *Alexander* had conquer'd *Thebes*, he demanded *Demoſthenes* of the *Athenians*, threatning them, if they refus'd to deliver him. When he went againſt *Perſia*, demanding Ships of the *Athenians* *Demoſthenes* oppos'd it, ſaying, *Who can aſſure us, that he will not uſe thoſe Ships we ſhould ſend him, againſt our ſelves?*

He left behind him two Sons by one Wife, the Daughter of one *Heliodorus Eudocimus*. He had but one Daughter, who died unmarried, being but a Child. A Siſter too, he had, who married with *Laches* the *Leuconian*, his Kinſman, and to him bore *Democares*, who provd inferior to none in his time for Eloquence, Conduct and Courage. His Statue is ſtill ſtanding in the *Pretaneum*, on the Right of the Entry, the firſt that ever was cloathed with a Coat, and girt with a Sword; becauſe in this Habit he delivered an Oration to the People, when *Antipater* demanded of them their Orators.

Afterwards, in proceſs of time, the *Athenians* decreed Nouriſhment to be given to the Kindred of *Demoſthenes* in the *Prytaneum*; and likewiſe ſet up a Statue to his Memory, when he was dead, in the Market, in the Year of *Gorgias*: Which Honours were paid him at the Requeſt of *Democharis* his Siſters Son. And ten years after, *Laches*, the Son of *Democharis* a *Leuconian*, in the

Year

Year of *Pytharatus*, requir'd the ſame Honour for himſelf; *viz.* That his Statue ſhould be ſet up in the Market, and that both he and his Poſterity, that is, the Eldeſt of his Line, for the future ſhould have their Allowance in the *Prytanæum*, and the higheſt room at all publick Shews and Triumphs. Theſe Decrees concerning both of them, are engroſs'd, and to be found among the Statute-Laws. The Statue of *Demochares*, as we have ſaid before, was afterwards remov'd out of the Market, into the *Prytanæum*.

There are extant ſixty five Orations which are truly his. Some report of him, that he liv'd a very diſſolute and vitious Life, appearing often in Womens Apparel, and being frequently converſant at Masks and Revellings; whence he was ſirnam'd *Batalus*; though others ſay, that this was a Diminutive of his Nurſes Name, and that from her he was call'd *Batalus*; in deriſion *Diogenes*, who for his churliſh Humor, was ſirnamed *Canis*, a Dog, eſpying him one day in a Victualing-houſe, he was very much aſhamed, and to ſhun him, went to withdraw: But *Diogenes* call'd after him, and told him, *The more you ſhrink inward, the more you will be in.* The ſame *Diogenes* hearing him once upon the Banter, ſaid of him, that in his Orations, he was a *Scythian*, a robuſt valiant Warrior; but in War a delicate nice Citizen. He was one of them who receiv'd Gold of *Ephialtes*, one of the popular Orators, who being ſent in an Embaſſie to the King of *Perſia*, took Money privily; and diſtributed among the Orators of *Athens*, that they might uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to kindle and inflame the War againſt *Philip*; and 'tis ſaid of *Demoſthenes*, that he for his part, had at once three thouſand Darics of the King. He apprehended one *Anaxilles* of *Oreites*, and caus'd him to be tortur'd for a Spie, and when he would confeſs nothing, he procur'd a Decree that he ſhould be deliver'd to the eleven Executioners. When once at a Meeting of the *Athenians*, they would not ſuffer him to ſpeak, he told them, he had but a ſhort Story to tell them. Upon which all being ſilent, thus he began; *A certain Youth*, ſaid he, *hired an Als in Summer time, from hence*

hence to Megara. *About Noon, when the Sun was very hot, and both he that hired the Aſs, and the Owner being deſirous of ſitting under, or on one ſide; of the Aſs, that he might ſhade them, they each thruſt the other away, the Owner arguing, that he let him only his Aſs, and not the Shadow; and the other replying, that ſince he had hir'd the Aſs, all that belong'd to him was at his Diſpoſe.* having ſaid thus, he ſeem'd to go his way. But the *Athenians* willing now to hear his Story out, call'd him back, and deſired him to proceed. To whom he reply'd; *How comes it to paſs, that ye are ſo deſirous of hearing a Story of the Shadow of an Aſs, and refuſe to give ear to Matters of greater Moment?* *Polus* the Player, boaſting to him, that he had gotten a whole Talent by playing but two days, he anſwer'd, *And I have gotten five Talents by being ſilent but one Day.* One day his Voice failing him, when he was declaiming publickly, being hiſs'd, he cry'd out to the People, ſaying, *Ye are to judge of Players, indeed, by the Clearneſs and Tuneableneſs of their Voice; but of Orators, by the Gravity and Excellency of their Sentences.* *Epicles* upbraiding him, for his premeditating what he was to ſay, he reply'd, *I ſhould be aſham'd to ſpeak what comes uppermoſt to ſo great an Aſſembly.* They ſay of him, that his Lamp never went out; that he us'd always, to the Age of fifty years, to peruſe often correct and publiſh his Orations before he deliver'd them. And he ſays of himſelf, that he drank always fair Water. *Lyſias* the Orator was acquainted with him; and *Iſocrates* knew him concern'd in the Management of public Affairs till the Battle of *Chæronea*; as alſo ſome of the Socratical Sect. He deliver'd ſome of his Orations * *ex tempore*; Nature having qualify'd him for it. The firſt that propoſed the Crowning him with a Coronet of Gold was, *Ariſtonicus*, the Son of *Nichophanes* the *Anagyraſian*; though *Diondas*, indeed, interceeded for it likewiſe.

* This is ſuppoſed to have been added by ſome other Hand, becauſe a contrary *Sentence* is given of him before.

HYPERIDES.

HYPERIDES. IX.

Hyperides was ſon of *Glauſippus*, and Grand-ſon of *Dionyſius*, of the Borough of *Colittea*. He had a Son, who bare the ſame Name with his Father *Glauſippus* the Orator, who wrote many Orations, and begat a Son named *Alphinus*. He was *Plato*'s Scholar, and had the Management of publick Affairs with *Lycurgus*, or as ſome will have it, he was the Scholar of *Plato*, *Lycurgus* and *Iſocrates*: However, his Concern in the Common-wealth, was at that time, when *Alexander* accoſted *Greece*, whom he vigorouſly oppos'd, in his Demands of Offices and Ships of the *Athenians*. He adviſed the People not to diſcharge the Garriſon of *Tænara*; and this he ſeem'd to do for the ſake of a Friend of his, who was Commander of it. As firſt he uſed to plead Cauſes for a Fee, and was ſuſpected to have receiv'd part of the Money which *Ephialtes* brought out of *Perſia*. When *Philip* beſieged the City *Bizantium*, he was ſent as Captain of the Gallies for the Aſſiſtance and Relief of that City. In that Year he had the Charge and Care of the ſolemn Dances, when others were diſmiſs'd from all public Offices. He obtain'd a Decree, for ſome Honours to be paid to *Demoſthens*; and when that Decree was repeal'd at the Inſtance of *Diondas*, as being contrary to the Laws, he being call'd in queſtion upon it, clear'd himſelf. He did not continue his Friendſhip with *Demoſthenes*, *Lyſicles* and *Lycurgus* to the laſt; for, *Lyſicles* and *Lycurgus* being dead, and *Demoſthenes* being accus'd of having receiv'd Money of *Harpalus*, he, among all the reſt, was pitch'd upon as the only Perſon who was not corrupted with Bribery, to draw up his Indictment, which he accordingly did. Being once accuſed of publiſhing Acts contrary to the Laws; as, that all Inhabitants of *Athens* ſhou'd be accounted Citizens; that Slaves ſhould be made free; that all ſacred things, Children and Women, ſhould be confin'd to the *Piræum*, he clear'd himſelf of all, and was acquitted. And being blam'd by ſome, who wondred how he cou'd be ignorant

ignorant of the many Laws that were directly repugnant to thoſe Decrees; he anſwer'd, that, *The Arms of the* Macedonians *dazled his Sight, and it was not he, but the Battle of* Cæronea *that made that Decree.* But *Philip* being affrighted at ſomewhat, gave leave to carry away their Dead out of the Field, which before he had deny'd to the Heraulds of *Lebadia.*

After this, at the overthrow at *Cranon*, being demanded by *Antipater*, and the People, being reſolv'd to deliver him up, he fled out of the City with others, who were under the ſame Condemnation, to *Ægina*; where meeting with *Demoſthenes*, he excus'd himſelf for the Breach of Friendſhip between them. Going from thence, he was apprehended by *Archias*, ſirnamed *Phygadotheres*, by Country a *Thurian*, formerly a Player, but at that time in the Service of *Antipater*; by this Man, I ſay, he was apprehended, even in the very Temple of *Neptune*, though he graſp'd the Image of that God in his Arms and was brought before *Antipater*, who was then at *Corinth.* Where being put upon the Rack, he bit out his Tongue, becauſe he would not divulge the Secrets of his Country. and ſo died, on, or about, the ninth Day of *October. Hermippus* tells us, that as he went into *Macedonia*, his Tongue was cut out, and his Body caſt out unburied; but *Alphinus* his Couſin German, or, according to the Opinion of others, his Grandſon, by his Son *Glauſippus*, obtain'd Leave, by means of one *Philopithes* a Phyſician, to take up his Body, which he burnt, and carried the Aſhes to *Athens* to his Kinsfolk there, contrary to the Edicts both of the *Athenians* and *Macedonians*; which not only baniſh'd them, but likewiſe forbad the Burial of them any where in their own Country. Others ſay, that he went to *Cleonæ*, where with others he died; having his Tongue cut out, as above. However, his Relations and Friends took his Bones when his Body was burnt, and buried them among his Anceſtors before the Gate *Hippades*, as *Heliodorus* gives us the Relation in his third Book *Of Monuments.*

ments. His Monument is now altogether unknown and loſt, being thrown down with Age and long ſtanding.

He is ſaid to have excell'd all others in his way of delivering himſelf in his Orations to the People. And there are ſome, who prefer him even to *Demoſthenes* himſelf. There are ſeventy ſeven Orations which bear his Name, of which only two and fifty are genuine, and truly his. He was much given to Venery, inſomuch, that he turn'd his Son out of Doors, to entertain that famous Curteſan *Myrrhina*: In *Pyræum* he had another whoſe Name was *Ariſtagora*; and at *Eleuſine*, where the greateſt part of his Eſtate lay; he kept another, one *Philete* a *Theban*, whom he purchaſed for twenty Pounds. His uſual Walk was in the Fiſh-Market. It is thought that he was accus'd of Impiety with one *Phryne*, a *Curtezan* likewiſe, and ſo was ſought after to be apprehended, as he himſelf ſeems to intimate in the beginning of an Oration; and 'tis ſaid, that when Sentence was juſt ready to be paſs'd upon her, he produc'd her in Court, open'd her Cloaths before, and diſcover'd her naked Breaſts, which were ſo very White, that for her Beauty's ſake, the Judges for that time acquitted her. He at leiſure times drew up ſeveral Declamations againſt *Demoſthenes*, which he thus diſcover'd; *Hyperides* being ſick, *Demoſthenes* came one Day to viſit him, and caught him with a Book in his Hand written againſt him; at which ſeeming ſomewhat diſpleas'd, *Hyperides* told him; *This Book ſhall hurt no Man that is my Friend; but as a Curb it may ſerve to reſtrain my Enemy from offering me any Injury.* He obtain'd a Decree of ſome Honours to be paid to *Iolas*, who gave the poyſon'd Cup to *Alexander*. He joyn'd with *Demoſthenes* in fomenting the *Lamian* War, and made an admirable Oration at the Funerals of thoſe who loſt their Lives therein.

When *Philip* embark'd for *Eubœa*, and the *Athenians* were at the News of it in no little Conſternation, *Hyperides* in a very ſhort time, by the voluntary Contributions of the Citizens, fitted out forty Sail, and was the firſt that ſet the Example, by ſetting out two Gallies, one for himſelf, and another for his Son, at his own Charge.

When there was a Controverſie betweeen the *Delians* and the *Athenians*, who ſhou'd have the Preheminence

in

in the Temple at *Delos*; *Æſchines* being choſen on the behalf of the *Athenians*, the *Areopagites* pitch'd upon *Hyrides* for their Advocate, and his Oration is yet extant and bears the Name of the *Deliac* Oration.

He likewiſe went Ambaſſador to *Rhoaes*, where meeting other Ambaſſadors from *Antipater*, who commended him very highly for his Goodneſs and Vertue; *We know*, reply'd he, *that* Antipater *is good, but we have no need of a good Maſter at preſent.*

It is ſaid of him, that he never affected much Action in his Orations to the People; his chief aim being to lay down the Matter as plainly, and make the Caſe as obvious to the Judges as he cou'd.

He was ſent likewiſe to the *Elians*, to plead the Cauſe of *Callippus* the Fencer, who was accus'd of carrying away the Prize at the publick Games unfairly; in which Cauſe he got the better. But when he oppo'd the Sentence of paying Honours to *Phocian*, obtain'd by *Midias* the Son of *Midias* the *Anagyraſian*, he was in that Cauſe overthrown. This appear'd on the twenty fourth, or, as ſome ſuppoſe, the twenty ſeventh Day of *May*, in the Year when *Xenus* was Governor.

DINARCHUS. X.

Dinarchus, the Son of *Socrates*, or *Softratus*, born, as ſome think, at *Athens*, but according to others, at *Corinth*, came to *Athens* very young, and there took up his Dwelling, at that time when *Alexander* made his Expedition into *Aſia*. He uſed to hear *Theophraſtus*, who ſucceeded *Ariſtotle* in his School. He was frequently converſant with *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* too. He betook himſelf more eſpecially to the Affairs of the Commonwealth, after the Death of *Antipater*, when ſome of the Orators were kill'd, others baniſh'd. Having contracted Friendſhip with *Caſſander*, he became in a ſhort time vaſtly Rich, by exacting great Rates for his Orations, of thoſe for whom he wrote them. He oppos'd himſelf to the greateſt and moſt noble Orators of his time, not by being over forward to declaim publickly, for his Faculty did not lie that way, but by compoſing

Orations for their Adverſaries. And when *Harpalus*, had broken out of Priſon, he wrote ſeveral Orations, which he gave to their Accuſers to pronounce againſt thoſe that were ſuſpected to have taken Bribes of him.

Some time after, being accuſed of a Conſpiracy with *Antipater* and *Caſſander*, about the Matter of *Munichia*, when it was ſurpriz'd by *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who put a Gariſon into it, in the Year when *Anaxicrates* was Governor, he turn'd the greateſt part of his Eſtate into Money, and fled to *Calchis*, where he liv'd in Exile about fifteen Years, where he increas'd his Stock, and afterwards, by the Mediation of *Theophraſtus*, he and ſome other baniſh'd Perſons, return'd to *Athens*. Then he took up his Abode in the Houſe of one *Proxenus* his intimate Friend; where, being very Aged, and withal dim Sighted, he loſt his Gold. And becauſe *Proxenus* refus'd to make inquiry after the Thief, he apprehended him; and this was the firſt time that ever he appear'd in Court. That Oration againſt *Proxenus* is extant; And there are ſixty four that bear his Name, whereof ſome are receiv'd and approv'd; as namely, that againſt *Ariſtogiton*. He imitated *Hiperides*; or, as ſome incline to Judge, rather *Demoſthenes*, becauſe of that Vigor and Force to move the Affections, and the Rhetorical Ornaments that are evident in his Stile.

Decrees propoſed to the Athenians.

Demochares the Son of *Laches* the *Leuconian*, requires that a Statue of Braſs be ſet up for *Demoſthenes* the Son of *Demoſthenes* the *Phæanian*, in the Market-place; as likewiſe that Proviſion of Diet be made in the *Prytaneum* for himſelf, and the Eldeſt of his Progeny ſucceſſively, and the cheif Seat of all Publick ſhews. For he had done many good Offices for the *Athenians*, had on moſt Occaſions been a good Councellor, had ſpent his Patrimony in the Common-wealth, that he had expended eight Talent for the fitting out and maintenance of one Galley, when they deliver'd *Eubœa*; another

nother, when *Cepiſodorus* ſail'd into the *Helleſpont*; and a third, when *Chares* and *Phocion* were Commiſſion'd by the People to go Captains to *Bizantium*; that he at his own Charge, had redeem'd many who had been taken Priſoner by *Philip* at *Pydene*, *Methone* and *Olynthus*; That himſelf had maintain'd the Chair, when the ſolemn Dances had been ſometime laid aſide, through the Neglect of the *Pandionides*; That he had furniſhed many indigent Citizens with Money and Arms; That being choſen by the People to overſee the City Works, he had laid out three Talents of his own Stock towards the repairing of the Walls, and ten thouſand Drachms for making two Trenches about the *Pyræum*; That after the Battle of *Chæronea*, he depoſited one Talent for the Uſe of the publick; and after that, another to buy Corn in time of Scarcity and Want, That by his Beneficence, wholſome Counſels and effectual Perſwaſions, he allur'd the *Thebans*, *Eubæans*, *Corinthians*, *Megarenſes*, *Achians*, *Locrians*, *Byzantines* and *Meſſenians to a* League with the *Athenians*; That he rais'd an Army of ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, and contracted Plenty to the People and their Allies, That being Ambaſſador, he had perſwaded the Allies to the Contribution of above five hundred Talents: That in the ſame Quality he obtain'd of the *Peloponneſians* that they ſhou'd not ſend Aid to *Alexander* againſt the *Thebans*: And in Conſideration of many other good Offices perform'd by him, either as to his Councels, or his perſonal Adminiſtration of Affairs of the Common-wealth, in which, and in defending the Rights and Properties of the People, no Man in his time had done more, or deſerv'd better. And in regard of his Sufferings on the Account of the Common-wealth, being baniſh'd by the Inſolence of a few, and at laſt dy'd at *Calaura* for his Good Will to the Public, and his unchargeable Love to the People of *Athens*, there being Souldiers ſent from *Antipater* to apprehend him; and that notwithſtanding his being in the Hands of his Enemies, in ſo great and imminent Danger, his hearty Affections to his Countreymen was ſtill the ſame, inſomuch, that he never to the

laſt offer'd any thing unworthy to the Injury of his People. Subſcribed *Pythiatus* Governor.

Laches, the Son of *Demochares* the *Leuconian*, requires of the *Athenian* Senate, that a Statue of Braſs be ſet up for *Demochares*, the Son of *Laches* of *Leucon*, in the Market-place: and, Table and Diet in the *Prytaneum* for himſelf and the Eldeſt of his Progeny ſucceſſively, and the firſt Seat at all publick Shews; for that he had always been a Benefactor and good Counſellor to the People; that he had done theſe and the like good Offices to the Publick; he had gone in Embaſſies in his own Perſon; that he propoſed and carried in Bills relating to his Embaſſage; that he had been chief Manager of publick Matters; he repair'd the Walls, prepar'd Arms and Machines; that he fortified the City in the time of the four years War, and compos'd a Peace, Truce and Alliance with the *Bœotians*. That for theſe things he was baniſh'd by thoſe who overturn'd and uſurped the Goverment; and being call'd Home again by a Decree of the People, in the Year of *Diocles*, he contracted the Adminiſtration, not ſparing his own Pains, he went in Embaſſage to *Tyſimachus*; that at one time he levyed thirty, and at another time an hundred Talents of Silver, for the uſe of the publick; that he moved the People to ſend an Ambaſſage to *Polemeus*, by which means the People got fifty Talents; that he went Ambaſſador to *Antipater*, and by that got twenty Talents, and brought it to *Eleuſine* to the People; That he did all theſe things, for which he was baniſh'd, and wou'd never take part with Uſurpers againſt the Popular Government; neither did he after the Overthrow of that Government, bear any publick Office in the State; That he was the only Man of all that had to do in the publick Adminiſtration of Affairs in his time, who never promoted or conſented to any other Form of Government, but the Popular; That by his Prudence and Conduct, all the Judgements and Decrees, the Laws, Goods and all things elſe belonging to the *Athenians* were preſerved ſafe and inviolate; and, in a Word, That he never ſaid or did any thing to the Prejudice of the Popular Government.

Lycophron,

Lycophron, the Son of *Lycurgus* of *Buta*, requires that he may have Diet in the *Prytaneum*, according to a Donation of the People to *Lycurgus*, in the Year of *Anaxicrates*, the Tribe of *Antiochus* in *Prytaneum*. *Stratocles*, the Son of *Eutlydemus*, of *Diomedia*, propoſed; That ſince *Lycurgus*, the Son of *Lycophron* of *Buta*, had as it were, a generated Good-Will in him towards the People of *Athens*; and ſince his Anceſtors *Diomedes*, and *Lycurgus* lived in Honour and the Eſteem of all People, and when they died were honour'd for their Vertue, ſo far, as to be buried at the publick Charge in the *Ceramicum*; and ſince *Lycurgus* himſelf, while he had the Management of publick Affairs, was the Author of many good and wholſome Laws, and was the City Treaſurer for above fifteen Years together; during which time he paſſed through his own Hands eighteen thouſand and nine hundred Talents, beſides other great Sums of Money that he had in his Hands, and was entruſted with of private Citizens, to the Sum of at leaſt ſix hundred Talents; in all which Concerns he behaved himſelf ſo juſtly, that he was often Crown'd by the City for his Fidelity; Beſides, being choſen by the People to that purpoſe, he brought much Money into the Cittadel, and provided Ornaments, *viz.* Veſſels of Gold and Silver for the Goddeſs *Minerva*, and Ornaments for the * *Cenephoræ*. That, being Commiſſary General, he brought into the Stores a great number of Arms, and at leaſt fifty thouſend Shot of Darts; That he ſet out four hundred Galleys, ſome new built, and others only repair'd, That finding many things out of repair, as the Armory, the Theater of *Bacchus*, he repair'd them, and finiſhed the *Panathenic* Race, the Court for publick Exerciſes, and the *Lycæum*, and adorned the City with many fair new Buildings; That when *Alexander* having conquer'd *Aſia*, and aſſuming the Empire of all *Greece*, demanded *Lycurgus* as the principal Man, that confronted and oppoſed him in his Affairs, the People refuſed to deliver him up; That being often call'd to

* *i. e.* Perſons who carried Baskets or Paniers on their Heads of Sacred things.

account for his Management of Affairs in ſo free a City, which was wholly govern'd by the People, he never was found faulty in any particular. That all People, therefore, might know, that the People do highly eſteem all ſuch as act in the Defence of their Liberties and Rights, not only while they live, but likewiſe that they pay them Honours after Death, for the Encouragement of all others, it is decreed by the People that ſuch Honours to be paid to *Lycurgus* the Son of *Lycophron* of *Buta* for his Juſtice and Magnanimity; as that a Statue of Braſs be erected in Memory of him in any part of the Market, that the Laws do not prohibit; as likewiſe that there be Proviſion for Diet for every eldeſt Son of his Progeny ſucceſſively for ever: Alſo, that all his Decrees be ratified, and engroſs'd by the Publick Notary, and engraven on Pillars of Stone, and ſet up in the Cittadel juſt by the Gulfs conſecrated to *Minerva*; and that the City Treaſurer ſhall depoſite fifty Drachms for the Engraving of them, out of the Money ſet apart for ſuch Uſes.

Plutarch's Morals: Vol. V.

Whether an aged Man ought to meddle in State-Affairs

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by* F. Fetherſtone, *D. D.*

WE are not ignorant, O *Euphanes*, that you, being a [frequent] Extoller of the [Poet] *Pindar*, have often in your Mouth [this Saying of his,] as a thing, well, and to the purpoſe ſpoken by him:

When as the Combat's once agreed,
Who by Pretence ſeeks to be freed,
Obſcures his Vertue quite.

But ſince Sloth and Effeminacy [or want of Courage] towards [the Management of] Civil Affairs, having many Pretences, do for the laſt, as, if it were drawn from the Sacred Line, tender to us old Age, and thinking by this chiefly to abate and cool our honourable Deſire, alledge that there is a certain [fitting and] decent Diſſolution,

Diſſolution, not only of the Athletical, but alſo of the Political Period, [or that there is in the Revolution of our Years] a certain ſet and limited time, after which 'tis no more proper for us to employ our ſelves in the Conduct of the State, than in the Corporeal and robuſt Exerciſes of Youth. I eſteem my ſelf obliged to communicate alſo to you thoſe Sentiments of mine concerning old Mens intermedling with public Matters, which I am ever and anon ruminating on by my ſelf; ſo that neither of us may deſert that long Courſe, we have to this Day held together, nor rejecting the Political Life, [which has been] as it were an intimate Friend of our own Years, [growing all along up with us,] change it for another, to which we are abſolute Strangers, and with which we have not time to become acquainted and familiar; but that we may perſiſt in what we had choſen, [and have been inur'd to] from the Beginning, putting the ſame Concluſion to our Life, and our Living honourably; unleſs we would by the ſhort [Space of Life,] we have remaining, diſgrace that longer Time, [we have already liv'd,] as having been ſpent idly, and in nothing, [that is] commendable. For Tyranny is not an honourable Sepulchre, as one [heretofore] told *Dionyſius*, whoſe Monarchy, [obtain'd by, and adminiſtred] with Injuſtice, did by its Non-ceſſation [and long Continuance,] bring on him but a more perfect Calamity; as *Diogenes* afterwards let his Son know, when ſeeing him at *Corinth*, of a Tyrant became a private Perſon, he ſaid to him: *How unworthy of thy ſelf*, Dionyſius, *thou acteſt! For thou oughteſt not to live here at Liberty and fearleſs with us, but to ſpend thy Life, as thy Father did, even to old Age, immur'd within a Tyrannical Fortreſs.* But the popular and legal Government of a Man, accuſtom'd to ſhew himſelf no leſs profitable in obeying, than in commanding, is an honourable Monument, which really adds to Death the Glory, acrewing from Life. *For this thing*, as *Simonides* ſays, *goes laſt under the Ground*; unleſs [it be in thoſe.] in whom Humanity, and the Love of Honour dies firſt, and whoſe Zeal for Goodneſs ſooner decays, than their Covetouſneſs after Tem-

poral Neceſſaries; as if the Soul had its active and Divine parts weaker than thoſe, that are paſſive and corporeal; which 'twere neither honeſt to ſay, nor yet to admit from thoſe, who ſay [it, and affirm,] that only of Gaining we are never weary. But we ought to a better purpoſe to produce the Saying of *Thucydides*, that not the Deſire of Honour alone never grows old, but much more alſo the Inclination to Society and Affection to the State, which continues even in Ants and Bees to the very laſt. For never did any one know a Bee to become by Age a Drone, as ſome think it requiſite of States-men, [of whom they expect,] that, when the Vigor of their Youth is paſt, they ſhould retire, and ſit mouldy at Home, ſuffering their active Vertue to be conſum'd [and eaten up] by Idleneſs, as Iron is by Ruſt. For *Cato* [indeed excellently well] ſaid, that we ought not willingly to add the Shame, [proceeding] from Vice, to thoſe many Afflictions, which Old Age has of its own. For of the many Vices, [every where abounding,] there is none, which more diſgraces an old Man, than Sloath, Delicacy and Effiminateneſs, when [retiring] from the Court and Council, he mues himſelf up at Home like a Woman, or [getting into the Country] overſees his Reapers and Gleaners; [for of ſuch an one we may ſay with *Sophocles*:]

Where's Oedipus, *and all his famous Riddles?*

For as for him, who ſhou'd in his old Age, and not before, begin to meddle with publick Matters (as they ſay) of *Epimenides*, that having fall'n aſleep, [while he was a young Man, he awaken'd [not till] fifty years after, [when he was] grown old, and ſhaking off ſo long and ſo cloſe-ſticking a Repoſe, ſhould thruſt himſelf, being unaccuſtom'd and unexercis'd into difficult and laborious Employs, without having been experienc'd in Civil Affairs, or [inur'd to the Converſations] of Men, [ſuch a Man] may perhaps give [occaſion] to one, that would reprehend him, to ſay with the [Propheteſs] *Pythia*,

If that thou ſeek'ſt to govern in the State,
And rule the People, Friend, thou com'ſt too late,
And at an hour unfit, knock'ſt at the Palace Gate.

Like an ill-bred Gueſt, coming late to a Banquet, or a Stranger, [looking in the dead of the Night for a Lodging,] thou wouldſt change, not thy Place, or Region but thy Life [for one,] of which thou haſt made no Tryal. For that Saying of *Simonides*,

——*The State inſtructs a Man,*

is true in thoſe, who [apply themſelves to the Buſineſs of the Common-weal, whilſt] they have yet time to be taught, and learn a Science, which is ſcarce attain'd with much Labour through many Struglings and Negotiations, even when it timely meets with a Nature, that can eaſily undergo Toil and Difficulty. Theſe things ſeem not to be impertinently ſpoken againſt him, who in his old Age begins to act in the Management of the State. And yet on the contrary we ſee, how young Men, and thoſe of unripe Years are by Perſons of [great] Judgment diverted from medling in publick Matters; and the Laws [alſo] teſtifie the ſame, when by the Cries in the Aſſemblies they ſummon not firſt the *Alcibiade* and the *Pythea* to come to the Desk, but thoſe who have paſs'd the Age of fifty years, to make Speeches, and conſult together [for the Good of the People.] For the being unus'd to Boldneſs, the want of Experience, and the firſt Heat is not to every Souldier ſo **

Here is a Defect in the Original.

But *Cato*, when [at the Age of] above eighty years, he was to plead his own Cauſe ſaid, *That 'tis a difficult thing for a Man to make his Apology, [and juſtifie his Life] before others, than thoſe, with whom he has liv'd [and been converſant.]*

All Men indeed confeſs, that the actions of [*Auguſtus Cæſar*, when he had defeated *Anthony*, were no leſs Royal and uſeful to the Publick, towards the End of his Life [than any he had done before.] And himſelf ſeverely reprehending

reprehending [the Diſſoluteneſs of] young Men by [eſtabliſhing Good] Cuſtoms and Laws, when they were in an Uproar, [only] ſaid to them: *Young Men,* [*refuſe not to*] *hear an old Man; to whom old Men,* [*not unwillingly.*] *gave Ear, when he was young.* The Government alſo of *Pericles* exerted it ſelf with moſt Vigor in his old Age, when he both perſwaded the *Athenians* to make War and at another time, when they were eagerly bent unſeaſonably to go [forth, and] fight ſixty thouſand armed Men, withſtood, and hindred them, ſealing up in a manner the Arms of the People, and the Keys of the Gates. Now as for what *Xenophon* has written of *Ageſilaus,* 'tis fit it ſhould be ſet down in his own Words. *What Youth,* ſays he, [*ever*] *was there, than which his old Age did not appear gallanter? Who was* [*ever*] *ſo terrible to his Enemies in the very Flower of his Virility, as* Ageſilaus *the Declenſion of his Days? at whoſe Death were Adverſaries* [*ever ſeen*] *more joyful, than at that of* Ageſilaus *in though he departed* [*not this Life, till*] *ſtooping under the Bruthen of his Years? Who more* [*encourag'd and*] *emboldened his Confederates, than* Ageſilaus, *though being at the utmoſt Period of his Life? What young Man was* [*ever*] *miſs'd more by his Friends than* Ageſilaus, *who dy'd not till he was very old?* Age then hindred not theſe Men from performing ſuch [gallant] Actions; and yet we, forſooth, being at our Eaſe in States, which neither have Tyranny, War, nor Seige, [to moleſt them] are afraid of [being troubled with] ſuch bloodleſs Debates and Emulations, as are for the moſt part terminated with Juſtice only by Law and Words. confeſſing our ſelves by this not only worſe than thoſe ancient Generals and States-men, but even than Poets, Sophiſters and Players. Since *Simonides* in his old Age gain'd the Victory in [compoſing of Songs for] Dances, as the Epigram teſtifies in theſe concluding Verſes:

Foreſcore Years old was Leoprepos *Son*
Simonides, *when he this Glory won.*

And 'tis ſaid of *Sophocles,* that, to avoid being condemn'd of Dotage [at the Inſtance] of his Children, he repeated

repeated the Entrance of the *Chorus* in [his Tragedy of] *Oedipus* in *Colonus*, which begins thus:

Welcome, Stranger, come in time
To the beſt place of this Clime,
White Colonus, *which abounds*
With brave Horſes. In theſe Grounds,
Spread with Natures choiceſt Green,
Philomel *is often ſeen.*
Here She her Hearers charms with ſweeteſt Laies,
Whilſt with ſhrill Throat,
And warbling Note,
She moans the ſad Misfortunes of her former Days.

And that, this Song appearing admirable, he was diſmiſs'd from the Court, as from the Theatre, with the Applauſe and Acclamations of all that were preſent. And this ſhort Verſe is acknowledged to be of him:

When Sophocles *fram'd for* Herodotus
This Ode, his Years were fifty five——

Philemon alſo the *Comedian*, and *Alexis* were ſnatch'd away by Death, whilſt they were acting on the Stage, and crown'd with Garlands. And as for *Polus*, the *Tragœdeans*, *Eratoſthenes* and *Philochorus* related of him, that, being ſeventy years of Age, he a little before his Death acted in four Days eight Tragedies.

Is it not then a Shame, that thoſe, who have grown old in Councils and Courts of Judicature, ſhould appear leſs generous then ſuch, as have ſpent their Years on the Stage, and forſaking thoſe Exerciſes, which are really ſacred, caſt off the Perſon of the States-man, to put on inſtead of it, I know not what other. For to deſcend from the State of a Prince, to that of a Plow-man, is all over baſe and mean. For ſince *Demoſthenes* ſays, that the *Peralus*, being a ſacred Galley, was unworthily us'd [in being employ'd] to carry Timber, Pales and Cattle to *Meidas*; would not a Man, who ſhould after his having quitted the Office of Superintendent at the public Solemnities, Governour of *Bœotia*, or Preſident in the Councel of the *Amphictions*, be ſeen meaſuring of Corn, weiging of Reaſons, and bargaining about Flee-

ces

ces and Wool-Fells? Would not ſuch an one, I ſay, wholly ſeem to have brought on himſelf, as the Proverb has it, the old Age of an Horſe, without any ones neceſſitating him to it? for to ſet ones ſelf to to Mechanical Employments and Trafficing, after one has born Office in the State, is the ſame, as if one ſhould ſtrip a well-bred vertuous Gentlewoman out of her Matron-like Attire, and thruſt her with an Apron ty'd about her into a public Victualing-houſe. For the Dignity and Greatneſs of political Vertue is overthrown, when 'tis debas'd to ſuch mean Adminiſtrations and Traffics for Gain. But if (which is [the only thing] remaining) they ſhall by giving Effeminacies and Voluptuouſneſs the Name of living at Quiet, and enjoying ones ſelf, exhort a Stateſman leiſurely to waſt away and grow old in them, I know not, to which of the two ſhameful Pictures his Life will ſeem to have the greater Reſemblance; whether to the Mariners, who, leaving their Ship, not in the Harbor, but under Sail [in the open Sea,] ſpend all the Remainder of their Time in celebrating the Feaſts of *Venus*; or to *Hercules*, whom, as ſome [Painters] merrily, [but yet ridiculouſly and] irreveverently, repreſent wearing in *Omphales* Palace a yellow Petticoat, and giving himſelf up to be boxt and comb'd by the *Lydian* Damſels; ſo we, ſtripping a Stateſman of his Lions Skin, [or of that Magnanimity and Courage, which renders him profitable to the Public,] and ſeating him at a [luxurious] Table, will there be always cloying his Palate with Delicacies, and filling his Ears with [effeminate] Songs and Muſic; being not a wit aſham'd [or put to the bluſh] by the Saying of *Pompeius Magnus* to *Lucullus*, who having after his public Services both in Camp and Council addicted himſelf to Bathing, Feaſting, Converſing with Women in the Day, and much other Diſſoluteneſs, even to the raiſing [and extravagantly furniſhing] of ſumptuous Buildings, fitter for Men of younger Years, and upbraiding *Pompey* with an Ambition and Deſire of Rule, unſuitable to his Age, was by him anſwered: That it was more mis-becoming an old Man to live voluptuouſ-

ly than to govern. [The ſame *Pompey*,] when in his Sickneſs his Phyſician had preſcrib'd him the eating of a Thruſh, which was then hard to be got, as being out of Seaſon, being told, that *Lucullus* bred great ſtore [of ſuch Birds,] would not ſend to him for one, but ſaid, [*What?*] *Cannot* Pompey *live*, *unleſs* Lucullus *be Luxurious*? For though Nature ſeeks by all means to delight and rejoyce her ſelf, yet the Bodies of old Men are incapacitated for [the enjoying] any Pleaſures except a few, that are [abſolutely] neceſſary [for the Preſervation of their Lives.] For not only,

Venus *to old Men is averſe*,——

As *Euripides* has it; but their Appetite alſo to their Meat and Drink is for the moſt part dull, and as one would ſay, toothleſs; ſo that they have but little Guſt and Reliſh in them.

They ought therefore to furniſh themſelves with Pleaſures, of the Mind, not ungenerous or illiberal, as *Simonides* ſaid to thoſe, who reproach'd him with Covetouſneſs, that being by his Years depriv'd of other Pleaſures, he recreated his Old Age with the only Delight he took in heaping up Riches. But [the Political Life, or] the Management of the Common-wealth has in it Pleaſures exceeding great, and no leſs honourable; [being ſuch,] as 'tis probable the [very] Gods do only or [at leaſt] chiefly injoy themſelves in; and theſe are [the Delights] which proceed from doing good, [or being beneficial to many,] and performing what is honeſt, [and laudable.] For if *Nicias* the Painter took ſuch Pleaſure to the Work of his Hands, that he often [ſo far forgat himſelf, as that he] was fain to ask his Servants, whether he had waſht, or din'd; and if *Archimedes* was ſo intent upon the Table, (in which he drew his Geometrical Figures,) that his Attendants were oblig'd by force to pluck him from it, and ſtrip him of his Clothes, that they might anoint him, whilſt he (in the mean time) drew new Schemes on his anointed Body; and if *Canas* the Piper, whom you alſo know, was wont to ſay, that Men knew not how much more he

he delighted himſelf with his Playing, then he did others; for that then his Hearers would rather demand of him, then give him a Reward; do we not thence conceive, how great Pleaſures the Vertues afford to thoſe, who practice them, from their honeſt Actions and public-ſpirited Works tending to the Benefit of Human Society? not tickling or ſtroaking, as do ſuch ſweet and gentle Motions as are made on the Fleſh, for theſe indeed have a furious and unconſtant Itching, mixt with a fevouriſh Inflammation; whereas thoſe do by ſuch gallant Actions, as he, who rightly adminiſters the State, is Worker of, not with the golden Plumes of *Euripides*, but with thoſe Cæleſtial Wings of *Plato*, elevate the Soul which has receiv'd a Greatneſs of Courage and Wiſdom, (accompany'd) with Joy. Call to mind (a little, I intreat you,) thoſe things, you have ſo often heard. For *Epaminondas* indeed, being ask'd, what was the moſt pleaſant thing that ever befel him, anſwer'd: His having gain'd the Victory at *Leuctra*, whilſt his Father and Mother were yet living. And *Sylla*, when having freed *Italy* from Civil Wars, he came to *Rome*, could not the firſt Night fetch the leaſt Wink of Sleep, having his Soul tranſported with exceſſive Joy and Content, as with a ſtrong and mighty Wind; and this he himſelf has written in his *Commentaries*. For be it indeed ſo, as *Xenophon* ſays, that there is no Sound more pleaſing (to the Ear) than (the hearing ones own) Praiſes; there is alſo no Sight, Remembrance or Conſideration, which gives (a Man) ſo much Satisfaction as the Contemplation of his own Actions, (perform'd by him) in Offices of Magiſtracy, and Management of the State, as in eminent and public Places.

'Tis moreover true, that the courteous (and aimable) Thanks, (attending as) a Witneſs on (ſuch vertues) Acts, and the emulous Praiſe, (conferr'd on them, which is as) a Guide, (conducting us in the Way) of juſt Benevolence, add a certain Luſtre and ſhining Gloſs to the Joy, (proceeding) of Vertue. Neither ought a Man negligently to ſuffer his Glory to wither in his old Age like a Wreſtlers Garland; but, by adding always Something

ſomething new and freſh to awaken, meliorate and confirm the Grace of his former (Actions) For as thoſe Workmen, on whom was incumbent the Charge of (maintaining and) keeping in repair the *Delian* Ship (or Gallian,) by ſupplying, and putting into the place of the decay'd (Planks and Timber,) others, (that were new and ſound,) ſeem'd to have preſerv'd it from ancient times, (as if it were) eternal and incorruptible; ſo the preſerving (and upholding) of ones Glory, is as the keeping in of a Fire, (a Work) of no difficulty, as requiring only (to be ſupply'd with) a little Fewel; but when either of them is wholly extinct and ſuppreſs'd one cannot without great (Toil and) Labour (revive and) rekindle it again. *Lampis*, the Sea Commander, being ask'd, how he got his Wealth, anſwer'd; *My greateſt (Eſtate I gain'd) eaſily enough, but the ſmaller ſlowly and with much Labor.* In like manner 'tis not eaſie at the beginning to acquire Reputation and Power in the State; but to augment and conſerve it, when it is grown great, is not at all hard for thoſe who have obtain'd it. For neither does a Friend, when he is once had, require many and great Services, that he may ſo continue; but Aſſiduity does by ſmall Signs (and Teſtimonies of Love) preſerve his good Will; nor does the Friendſhip and Confidence of the People expect to have a Man always beſtowing Largeſſes, defending their Cauſes, or executing of Magiſtracy: but is maintain'd by a Readineſs, and a not leaving, or being weary of Carefulneſs and Sollicitude for the Publick. For even Wars themſelves have not always Conflicts, Fights and Sieges; but there ſometimes intervene Sacrifices and Parleys, and (Truces affording) bloodleſs Leiſure for Sports and Paſtimes.

Whence then comes it, that the Adminiſtration of the Common-wealth ſhould be fear'd as inconſolable, laborious and unſupportable, where Theatres, Proceſſions, Largeſſes, Muſic, Joy, and at every turn the Service and Feſtival of ſome God or other, unbending the Brows, (and diſſipating the Cares) of every Council and Senate, yield a manifold Pleaſure and Delight;

As

As for Envy, which is the greateſt Evil attending the Management of publick Affairs, it leaſt attacks old Age For Dogs indeed, as *Heraclitus* has it, bark at [a Stranger,] whom they do not know ; and Envy oppoſes him who governs, at the very Door, as it were, of the Tribunal, hindring his Acceſs [and Entrance ;] but meekly bears an accuſtom'd and familiar Glory, and not churliſhly or difficultly. Wherefore ſome reſemble Envy to Smoak ; For it ariſes thick at firſt, when the Fire begins to burn ; but when it grows clear, it vaniſhes away. Now Men uſually quarrel and contend about other Excellencies, as Vertue, Nobility and Honour, as if [they were of Opinion, that] they took from themſelves, as much as they give to others ; but the precedency of Time, which is properly call'd by the *Greeks* Πρεσβεῖον, [or the Honour of old Age,] is free from Jealouſie and willingly granted (by Men to their Companions.) For to no Honour is it ſo incident more to grace the Honorer, than the Honor'd, as to that, which is given to Perſons in Years. Moreover, all Men do not expect to gain themſelves Authority from Wealth Eloquence, or Wiſdom ; but as for the Reverence and Glory, to which old Age (uſually) brings Men, there is not any one of thoſe, who act in the Management of the State, but hopes to attain it.

He therefore, who having a long time contended (and born up,) againſt Envy, ſhall, when it ceaſes, and is appeas'd withdraw himſelf from the State, and together with publick Actions deſert Communities and Societies differs nothing from that Pilot, who, having kept his Ship out at Sea, when in danger of being overwhelm'd by contrary (and tempeſtuous) Waves and Wind, ſeek to put into Harbor, as ſoon as ever the Whether is grown calm and favourable. For the longer time there has been the more Friends and Companions he has made, all which he can neither carry out with him, as a Singing-Maſter does his Quire, nor is it juſt to leave them. But as 'tis not eaſie to root up old Trees, ſo neither is to to extirpate a long continu'd Practice in the Management of the State, which having many Roots, is in-

volv'd in affairs, which create more Troubles and Vexations to thoſe, who retire (from them,) than who continue (in them.) And if there is any remainder of Envy and Emulation againſt old Men from (former) Contentions about Civil Affairs, they ſhould rather extinguiſh it by Authority, than turn their Backs on it, going away naked and diſarm'd. For envious Perſons do not ſo much aſſail thoſe, who contend againſt them, as they do by Contempt inſult over ſuch, as retire. And to this bears Witneſs that Saying of the great *Epaminondas* to the *Thebans*, when in the Winter the *Arcadians* requeſted them to come into their City, and dwell in their Houſes; for he would not permit it, but ſaid to them; *Now the* Arcadians *admire you, ſeeing you exerciſe your ſelves, and wreſtle in your Armor; but if they ſhall behold you ſitting by the Fire, and pounding of Beans, they will think you to differ nothing from themſelves.* So an old Man, ſpeaking (to the People,) acting (in the State,) and honour'd, is a venerable Spectacle; but he, who waſts away his Days in his Bed, or ſits diſcourſing of trivial Matters, and blowing his Noſe in the Corner of a Gallery, eaſily renders himſelf an Object of Contempt. And this indeed *Homer* himſelf teaches thoſe, who hear (and underſtand him) aright. For *Neſtor*, who fought before (the Walls of) *Troy*, was highly venerated and eſteem'd; whilſt *Peleus* and *Laertes*, who ſtay'd at Home, were ſlighted and deſpis'd. For the Habit of Prudence does not continue the ſame in thoſe, who give themſelves to their Eaſe; but by little and little diminiſhes and is diſſolv'd by Sloth, as always requiring ſome Exerciſe of the Thought, to rouſe up and purifie the rational active (Faculty of the Soul.) For

Like glittering Braſs, by being us'd it ſhines.

For the Infirmity of the Body does not ſo much incommode the Adminiſtrations of thoſe, who, almoſt ſpent with Age, go up to the Bench, or to the Council of War, as they are advantag'd by the Caution and Prudence, which (attend their Years, and) keeping them from thruſting themſelves precipitately into Affairs, a-

bus'd partly by want of Experience, and partly by Vain glory, and hurrying the People along with them by Violence, like a Sea, agitated by the Winds, cauſe them mildly and moderately to manage thoſe, with whom they have to do.

Whence Cities, when they are in Adverſity and Fear, deſire the Government of (grave and) ancient Perſonages; and often having drawn out of his Field (and Country-houſe) ſome old Man, who had not ſo much as the leaſt thought of it, have compell'd him, though unwilling, to put his Hand to the Helm, and conduct (the Ship of) the State into (the Haven of) Security, rejecting ſuch Generals and Orators, as (not only) knew how to ſpeak loud, and make (long) Harangues without drawing their Breath, (but were able) alſo valiantly to march forth, and fight their Enemies. So when the Orators, (one day) at *Athens*, uncovering before *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, *Chares* the Son of *Theochares*, a vigorous and ſtout-body'd young Man, (ſaid they,) were of Opinion, that the General of the *Athenians* ought to be ſuch an one. *Not ſo, by all the Gods*, anſwered *Timotheus*, *but ſuch an one he ſhould be that is to carry the Generals bedding; But the General himſelf ought to be ſuch an one, as can at the ſame time, ſee both the Antecedents and Conſequents of affairs, and ſuffers not his Reaſonings about things convenient (for the Public) to be diſturb'd by any Paſſion.*

For *Sophocles* indeed ſaid, he was glad, that he was got free from (the Tyrany of) wanton Love, as being a furious and raging Maſter; But in the Adminiſtrations of State, we are not to avoid this one only Maſter, the Love of Women or Boys, but many, who are madder than he, (ſuch as are) Obſtinacy in contending Ambition, and a Deſire of being always the firſt and greateſt, which is a Diſeaſe, moſt fruitful in bringing forth Envy, Jealouſie and Conſpiracies; ſome of which (Vices) old Age abates and dulls, and wholly extinguiſhes and cools the others, not ſo much detracting from the practical impulſe (of the Mind,) as repreſſing its impetuous and over-hot Paſſions, that it may

apply a ſober and ſetled Reaſoning to its (Coſiderations) Solicitude (about the Management of affairs,) Nevertheleſs let this Speech of the (Poet,)

Lye ſtill at eaſe, poor Wretch, in thy own Bed,

Both be, and ſeem to be ſpoken for the diſſwading of *him*, who ſhall, when he is now grown grey (with Age,) begin to play the Youth, and for the reſtraining an old Man, who, riſing from along Adminiſtration of his Domeſtic affairs, as from (a lingring) Diſeaſe, ſhall ſet himſelf to lead an Army to the Field, or perform the Office of Secretary in the State.

But altogether ſenſeleſs, and nothing like to this he, who will not ſuffer one, that has ſpent his whole time in Political Adminiſtrations, and been throughly beaten to them to go on to the (extinguiſhing of his) Torch, and the Concluſion of his Life, but ſhall call him back, and command him, as it were, to turn out of the long Road, (he has been travelling in.) For, as he, that to draw off (from his Deſighn,) an old Fellow, who is powdering his Peruke, * and perfuming himſelf to go a wooing, ſhould ſay to him, as (was heretofore ſaid) to *Philoctetes*,

What Virgin will her blooming Maiden head
Beſtow on ſuch a Wretch? Why would'ſt thou Wed,

Could not be at all abſurd, ſince even old Men break many ſuch Jeſts upon themſelves, and ſay;

I, old Fool, know, I for my Neighbors Wed.

But he, who ſhould think, that a Man, which has long cohabited, and liv'd irreprehenſibly with his Wife, might becauſe he is grown old to diſmiſs her, and live alone, or take a Concubine in her Place, would have attain'd the utmoſt Exceſs of Perverſneſs. So he would not act altogether unreaſonably, that ſhould admoniſh an old Man, who is making his (firſt) Approaches

* I have ſo rendred the *Greek* Words ἐστεφανωμένον and μυρίζόμενον, which ſignifie *crown'd* with *Garlands*, and *anointed*, to render it more ſuitable to the moderate Practice.

proaches to the People, whether [he be ſuch an one, as] *Chlidon* the Farmer, or *Lampon* the Mariner, or ſome old dreaming Philoſopher out of his Garden, and adviſe him to continue in his accuſtom'd Unconcernedneſs, for the Public. But he, that taking hold of *Phocion Cato*, or *Pericles*, ſhould ſay to him, *My* Athenian, *or* Roman *Friend, who are come to thy wither'd old Age? make a Divorce, and henceforth quit the State, and diſmiſſing all Converſations and Cares about either Councel or Camp, retire into the Country, there with an old Maid ſervant looking after thy Husbandry, or ſpending the Remainder of thy Time in managing thy Domeſtic Affairs, and taking thy Accounts*; [ſuch an one] would perſwade a Stateſman to do things miſ-beſeeming him and unacceptable.

What then? May ſome one ſay; do we not hear the Souldier in the Comedy affirming,

Henceforth my gray Hairs exempt me from Wars?

Yes indeed, my Friend, 'tis altogether ſo; for it becomes the Servants of *Mars* to be young and vigorous, as managing

War, and Wars toilſome Works: ———

In which, though an Helmet may alſo hide the old Mans gray Hairs,

Yet inwardly his Limbs are all decay'd,

And his Strength falls ſhort of his good Will. But from the Miniſters of *Jupiter*, the Councellor, Orator and Patron of Cities, we expect not the Works of Feet and Hands, but of Counſel, Providence and Eloquence, not ſuch, as raiſes a Noiſe and Shouting amongſt the People, but ſuch, as has it in Underſtanding, prudent Sollicitouſneſs and Safety; by which the derided Hoarineſs and Wrinkles appear as Witneſſes of his Experience, and add to him the Help of Perſwaſion, and the Glory of Ingenuity. For Youth is made to [follow and] be perſwaded, and Age to guide [and direct,] and that City is moſt ſecure, where the Councels of the Old, and the Proweſs of the Young bear ſway. And this [of *Homer*.]

A Counſel

A Counſel firſt of valiant old Men
He call'd in Neſtors *Ship* ——

Is wonderfully commended. Wherefore the *Pythian* [*Apollo*] call'd the Ariſtocracy [or Council of Noblemen] in *Lacædemon*, joyn'd [as Aſſiſtants] to their Kings Πρεσβυγενία [or the *Ancients*,] and *Lycurgus* nam'd it plainly Γερουσία, [or the Councel of old Men;] and even to this Day the Councel of the *Romans* is call'd the Senate [from *Senium*, ſignifying old Age.] And as the Law places the Diadem and Crown, ſo does Nature the Hoarineſs of the Head, as an honourable Sign of Princely Dignity. And I am of Opinion, that Γῆρας [ſignifying an honourable Reward,] and Γεραίρειν, [ſignifying to honor,] continue [ſtill in uſe amongſt the *Greeks*,] being made venerable from [the Reſpect paid to] old Men, not becauſe they waſh in warm Water, and ſleep [on] ſofter [Beds than others;] but becauſe they have as it were a King-like eſteem in States for their Prudence; from which, as from a late bearing Tree, Nature ſcarcely in old Age brings forth its proper and perfect Good. Therefore none of thoſe martial and magnanimous *Achaians* blam'd that King of Kings [*Agamemnon*] for praying thus to the Gods,

O that among the Greeks *I had but ten*
Such Councellors, as Neſtor ——

But they all granted, that not in Policy only, but in War alſo, old Age has great Influence:

For one diſcreet Advice is much more worth
Than many Hands,——

And one rational and perſwaſive Sentence effects the braveſt and greateſt of publick [Exploits] Moreover, the Regal Dignity, which is the perfecteſt and greateſt of all Political Governments, has exceeding many Cares, Labors and Difficulties; inſomuch that *Seleucus* is reported ever and anon to have ſaid: *If Men knew, how laborious the only Writing and Reading of ſo many Epiſtles is, they would not* [*ſo much as ſtoop to*] *take up a Diadem thrown* [*on the Ground.*] And *Philip*, when, being about

to pitch his Camp in a fair and commodious Place, he was told, that there was not there Forage for his Judgments, cry'd out: *O* Hercules, *What a Life is ours if we muſt live for the Conveniency of Aſſes.* 'Tis then time to perſuade a King, when he is now grown into years, to lay aſide his Diadem and Purple, and putting on a courſe Coat, with a Crook in his Hand, to betake himſelf to a Country Life, leſt he ſhould ſeem to act ſuperfluouſly and unſeaſonably, by reigning in his old Age. But if the very mentioning ſuch a thing to an *Argeſilaus*, a *Numa* or a *Darius*, would be an Indignity; let us not, becauſe they are in Years, either drive away *Solon* from the Councel of the *Areopagus*, or [remove] *Cato* out of the Senate; nor yet let us adviſe *Pericles* to abandon the Democracy. For 'tis beſides [altogether] unreaſonable [and abſurd,] that he, who has in his Youth leapt into the Tribunal [or Chair of the State,] ſhould, after he has diſcharg'd all his furious Ambitions and impetuous Paſſions on the Public, when he is come to that Maturity of Years, which by Experience brings Prudence, deſert and abandon the Commonwealth, having abus'd it, as if it were a Woman [for the Satisfaction of his Luſt.]

Æſop's Fox indeed would not permit the Hedg-hog, who offer'd it, to take from him the Ticks, [that fed upon his Body:] *For*, ſaid he, *if thou remov'ſt thoſe that are full, other hungry ones will ſucceed them*; ſo 'tis of neceſſity, that a Common-wealth, which is always caſting off thoſe who grow old, muſt be repleniſht with young Men, thirſting after Glory and Power, and void of Underſtanding in State-Affairs. For whence [I pray, ſhould they have it] if they ſhall have been neither Diſciples nor Spectators of any ancient Stateſman? For if [Sea-Charts and] Treatiſes of Navigation cannot make thoſe skilful Pilots, who have not often in the Stern been Spectators of the Conflicts againſt the Waves, Winds and [pitchy Darkneſs of the] Night.

When

When the poor trembling Sea-man longs to ſee
The ſafety beding Twins, Tyndaridæ;

How ſhould a [raw] young Man take in hand [the Government of] a City, and rightly adviſe both the Senate and the People, having only read a Book, or written an Exerciſe in the *Lycæum* concerning Policy; though he has ſeldom or never ſtood by the Reins or Helm, when grave Stateſmen, and old Commanders, having in debating alledg'd both their Experiences and Fortunes, whilſt he was wavering on both ſides that ſo he might with Dangers and tranſacting of Affairs, gain Inſtruction? This is not to be ſaid. But if it were for nothing elſe, yet ought an old Man to manage in publick Affairs, that he may inſtruct and teach thoſe who are young. For as thoſe, who teach Children Reading and Muſick, do by pronouncing the [Letters Syllables and Words] and ſinging Notes and Tunes before them lead and bring on their Scholars; ſo an [old] Stateſman, not by ſpeaking and dictating exteriorly, but by acting and adminiſtring publick Affairs, directs [and breeds up] a young one, who is by his Deeds, joyn'd with his Words, interiorly form'd and faſhion'd. For he who is exercis'd after this manner, not amongſt [the Diſputes of] nimble Tongu'd Sophiſters, as in the Wreſtling-Schools, and Anointings where there is not [the leaſt Appearance of] any Danger, but really, and as it were in the *Olympian* and *Pythian* Games, [will tread in his Teachers Steps.]

Like a young Colt, which runs by th' Horſes ſide,

As *Simonides* has it. Thus *Ariſtides* [follow'd thoſe of] *Caliſthenes*, *Cimon* of *Ariſtides*, *Phocion* of *Cabrias*, *Cato* of *Maximus Fabrius*, *Pompey* of *Sylla*, and *Polybius* of *Philopœmen*; for theſe, when they were young, joyning themſelves with their Elders, afterwards as it were flouriſhing and growing up by their Adminiſtrations and Actions, gain'd Experience and were inur'd to the Management of publick Affairs with Reputation and Power *Æſchines* therefore the *Academic*, being charg'd by certain Sophiſters, that he pretended himſelf a Diſciple of

Carneades, when he was not ſo, ſaid: *I was then an Hearer of* Carneades, *when his Diſcourſe, having diſmiſs'd Contention and Noiſe, contracted it ſelf to what was uſeful, and fit to be communicated.* Now an aged Mans Government being not only in Words, but in Deeds, far remote from all Oſtentation and Vain-glory; as they ſay of the Bird *Ibis*, that when ſhe is grown old, having exhal'd all her venemous and ſtinking Savor, ſhe ſends forth a moſt ſweet and aromatical one; ſo in Men grown into Years, there is no Opinion or Counſel diſturb'd, but all grave and ſetled. Wherefore, even for the young Mens Sake, as has been ſaid, ought an old Man to act in the Government of the State; that, as *Plato* ſaid of Wine, allay'd with Water, that the furious God was made Wiſe, being chaſtis'd by another, who was ſober, ſo the Caution of old Age, mixt among the People with the Fervency of Youth, tranſported by Glory and Ambition, may take off that, which is furious and over-violent.

But beſides [all] this, they are under a Miſtake, who think, that as Sailing, and going to the Wars ſo alſo Acting in the State, is done for ſomething elſe, and ceaſes, when that is obtain'd. For the Managing of State-Affairs is not a Miniſtry, which has Profit for its End; but the Life of gentle, civil and ſociable Animals, fram'd by Nature to live civilly, honeſtly and for the Benefit of Mankind. Wherefore 'tis fit, he ſhould be ſuch an one, as that it may be ſaid of him, he is employ'd in State-Affairs, and not he has been ſo employ'd; as alſo, that he is true, and not he has been true; he acts juſtly, and not he has acted juſtly; and that he loves his Country and Fellow-Citizens, and not he has lov'd them. For to theſe things does Nature direct, and theſe Voices does ſhe ſound to thoſe, who are not totally corrupted with Sloth and Effeminacy:

Thy Father has engendred thee a Man,
Worthy of much Eſteem with Men——

And again,

Let

Let us not ceaſe to benefit Mankind.

Now as for thoſe, who pretend Weakneſs and Impotency, they accuſe rather Sickneſs and Infirmity of Body, than old Age; for there are many young Men ſickly (and weak,) and many old ones luſty (and healthy:) ſo that we are not to remove (from the adminiſtration of the State) aged, but impotent Perſons; nor call (to it) ſuch as are young, but ſuch as are able (to bear the Burthen of it.) For *Aridæus* was young, and *Antigonus* old, and yet the latter conquered in a manner all *Aſia*, whereas the former, as if he had only been to make a dumb Shew with his Guards upon a Stage, was but the bare Name of a King, a Property, always mock'd by thoſe, who were in Power. As therefore he would be a very Fool, that ſhould think *Prodicus* the *Sophiſter*, and *Philetas* the Poet. Men indeed young, but withal weak, ſickly, and moſt an end confin'd by their Infirmity to their Beds, fit to be concern'd in the Management of the State; ſo he (would be no leſs abſurd,) that ſhould hinder ſuch (vigorous) old Men, as were *Phocion*, *Maſaniſſa* the *Libyan*, and *Cato* the *Roman*, from governing, or leading forth of Armies. For *Phocion*, when the *Athenians* were at an unſeaſonable time hurrying to War, made Proclamation, that all, who were not above ſixty years of Age, ſhould take up Arms and follow him; and when they were offended at it, he ſaid, *There is no Hardſhip put upon you, for I, who am above fourſcore years old, will be your General.* And *Polybius* relates, that *Maſaniſſa*, dying at the Age of ninety years, left behind him a young Son of his own begetting, not above four years old; and that having a little before been in a great Fight, he was the next Day ſeen at the Door of his Tent eating a piece of brown Bread, and that, he ſaid to thoſe, who wondred at it, that he did this **

For us'd, to ſhine, as poliſht Braſs, 'tis known;
But unemploy'd, in time with Ruſt's o'ergrown.

As *Sophocles* has it; we all ſay the ſame of that Light and Luſtre of the Soul, by which we reaſon, remember and think.

Wherefore

Wherefore alſo they ſay, that Kings become better in Wars and Military Expeditions, than when they live at eaſe. *Attalus* therefore, the Brother of *Eumenes*, being enervated with long Idleneſs and Peace, was with little Skill managed by *Philopœmen*, one of his Favorites, who fatned him [like an Hog in a Sty:] ſo that the *Romans* were wont in deriſion to ask thoſe, who came out of *Aſia*, whether the King had any Power with *Philopœmen*. Now one cannot find amongſt the *Romans* many ſtouter Generals than *Lucullus*, as long as he apply'd his Mind to Action; but when he gave himſelf up to an unactive Life, to a continuing lazily at Home, and an Unconcernedneſs for the Publick, being dull'd and mortify'd, like Spunges in calm Weather, and then delivering his old Age to be dieted and ordered by *Calliſthenes* one of his Free-men, he ſeem'd bewitch'd by him with Philters and other Incantations; till ſuch time as his Brother *Marcus*, having driven away his Fellow did himſelf govern and conduct the Remainder of his Life, which was not very long. But *Darius*, Father of *Xerxes*, [ſpeaking of himſelf,] ſaid, that by Difficulties he grew wiſer than himſelf. And the *Scythian Ateas* affirmed, that he thought there was no difference between himſelf and his Horſe-keepers, when he was idle. And *Dionyſius* the Elder, when one askt him, whether he was at leiſure, anſwered, *May that never befall me.* For a Bow, they ſay, if over-bent, will break; and a Soul, if too much ſlackned. For even Muſicians, if they [over-long] omit to hear Accords; Geometricians, if they leave off demonſtrating their Propoſitions; and Arithmeticians, if they diſcontinue their caſting up of Accounts, do together with the Actions impair by the Progreſſes of Time the Habits, though they are not practical, but ſpeculative Arts; but the Habit of Stateſmen, being wiſe Counſel, Diſcretion and Juſtice, and beſides theſe, Experience, taking hold of Opportunities, and a Faculty [to make uſe] of Words, working Perſwaſion, is maintain'd by frequent ſpeaking, acting, reaſoning and judging. And an hard thing it would be, that the avoiding to do theſe things ſhould ſuffer ſuch

and

and ſo great Vertues to run out of the Soul. For 'tis probable alſo, that Humanity, friendly Society and Beneficence will alſo decay, of which there ought to be no End or Limit.

If then you had *Tithonus* to your Father, who was indeed immortal, but yet by reaſon of his old Age ſtood perpetually in need of much Attendance, I do think, you would ſhun, or be weary of looking to him, diſcourſing with him, and helping him, as having along time done him Service. Now our Country, which [as the *Greeks* in general name it Πατρὶς, as if it reſembled our Father, ſo] the *Grecians* call Μητρὶς, [as being more like our Mother,] being older, and having greater Rights than our Parents, is indeed long laſting, yet neither free from the Inconveniences of old Age, nor ſelf-ſufficient, but ſtanding always in need of a ſerious Regard, Succor and Viligance, pulls to her, and takes hold of a Sateſman,

And with ſtrong hand reſtrains him, who would go.

And you indeed know, that I have theſe many *Pythiads* ſerv'd the *Pythian* [*Apollo*;] but yet you would not ſay to me: *Thou haſt ſufficiently, O* Plutarch, *ſacrificed, gone in Proceſſion, and led Dances* [*in honor of the Gods*:] *'tis now time, that being in years, thou ſhouldſt in favour of thy old Age, lay aſide the Garland, and leave the Oracle.* Therefore neither do you think, that you, who are the chief Prieſt and Interpreter of Religious Ceremonies in the State, may leave the Service of *Jupiter*, the Protector of Cities, and Governor of Aſſemblies, for [the Performance of] which, you were long ſince conſecrated.

But leaving, if you pleaſe, this Diſcourſe [about things] withdrawing [old Men] from [performing their Duties to] the State; let us make it a little the Subject of our Conſideration and Philoſophy, how we may enjoyn them no Exerciſe, unfiting, or grievous to their Years, the Adminiſtration of a Common-wealth having many Parts, beſeeming and ſuitable for ſuch Perſons. For, as if we were oblig'd to finiſh [our Days with preſerving in the Practice of] ſinging, it would behove

behove us, being now grown old, of the many Tunes and Tenſions, there are of the Voice, which the Muſicians call Harmonies, not to aim at the higheſt and ſhrileſt [Note,] but [to make choice of that] in which there is an Eaſineſs, [joyn'd] with a decent Suitableneſs; ſo ſince 'tis more natural for men to act and ſpeak even to the end of their Lives, than 'tis for Swans to ſing, we muſt not reject Action, like an Harp, that is ſet too high, but [rather] let it a little down accommodating it to ſuch Employs in the State, as are eaſie, moderate and fitting for Men in years. For neither do we ſuffer our Bodies to be altogether motioneleſs, and unexercis'd, becauſe we cannot [any longer] make uſe of Spades and Plumets, nor yet throw Coits, or skirmiſh in Armor, as we have formerly done; but ſome of us do by Swinging and Walking, others by playing gently at Ball, and ſome again by Diſcourſing, ſtir up our Spirits, and revive our [natural] Heat. Therefore neither let us permit our ſelves to be wholly chill'd and frozen by Idleneſs, nor yet on the contrary, let us by burthening our ſelves with every Office, or intermedling with every publick buſineſs, force one old Age, convinc'd of its Diſability, to break forth into theſe Exclamations,

The Spear to brandiſh, thou, Right Hand, are bent;
But weak old Age oppoſes thy Intent.

Since even that Man is not commended, who in the Vigor and Strength of his Years, impoſing all publick Affairs in general on himſelf, and unwilling to leave any thing for another, as the *Stoics* ſay of *Jupiter*, thruſts himſelf into all Employs, and intermeddles in every Buſineſs, through an inſatiable Deſire of Glory, or Envy againſt thoſe, who are in ſome meaſure Partakers of Honour and Authority in the State. But to an old Man, though you ſhould free him from the Infamy, yet painful and miſerable would be an Ambition, always laying wait at ever Election of Magiſtrates, a Curioſity, attending for every Opportunity of Judicature, or Aſſembling in Counſel, and an Humour of Vain-glory,

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catching at every Embaſſie and Patronage. For the doing of theſe things, even with the Favour [and good Liking of every one] is to heavy for that Age; and yet the contrary to this happens; for they are hated by the young Men, as leaving them no Occaſions of Action, nor ſuffering them to put themſelves forth; and their ambitious Deſire of Primacy and Rule is no leſs odious to others, than the Covetouſneſs and Voluptuouſneſs of other old Men. Therefore, as *Alexander*, unwilling to tire his *Bucephalus*, when he now began to grow old, did before the Fight ride on other Horſes, to view his Army, and draw it up for Battle; and then, after the Signal was given, mounting this, marcht forth, and charg'd the Enemy; ſo a Stateſman, if he is wiſe, moderating himſelf, when he finds Years coming on, will abſtain from [intermedling in] unneceſſary Affairs, and ſuffering the State to make uſe of younger Perſons in ſmaller Matters, will readily exerciſe himſelf in [ſuch, as are of] great [importance.] For Champions, [or ſuch as play publick Prizes,] indeed keep their Bodis untouch'd and unimploy'd in neceſſary Matters, [that they may be in a readineſs] for unprofitable [and ſuperfluous Engagements;] but let us on the contrary, letting paſs little and frivolous, carefully preſerve our ſelves for worthy [and gallant Actions.] For all things perhaps, as *Homer* ſays, equally become a young Man; [now all Men] eſteem and love him; ſo that for [undertaking frequently] little and many Buſineſſes, they ſay, he is laborious and a good Commonwealths-man, and for [enterprizing none but] ſplendid and noble Actions, they ſtile him generous and magnanimous; nay, there are alſo ſome Occurrences, when even Contention and Raſhneſs have a certain Seaſonableneſs and Grace, becoming ſuch Men. But an old Mans Undertaking in a State ſuch ſervile Employs, as are the farming out of the Cuſtoms, and the looking after the Havens and Market-place, or elſe his running on Embaſſies and Journeys to Princes and Potentates, when there is no neceſſary or honourable Affairs to be treated of, but only Complements, and a maintaining of Correſpondence,

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ſuch an one, dear Friend, ſeems to me a thing miſerable, and not to be imitated; but to others, perhaps odious and intolerable.

For 'tis not even ſeaſonable for ſuch Men to be employ'd in Magiſtracies, unleſs it be ſuch, as bear ſomewhat of Grandeur and Dignity; ſuch is the Precedency in the Councel of *Areopagus*, which you now exerciſe, and ſuch alſo by *Jove* is the Excellency of the *Amphictyonian* Office, which your Country has conferr'd on you for your Life, having an eaſie Labour, and pleaſant Pains. And yet old Men ought not ambitiouſly to affect even theſe Honours, but accept them with Refuſal, not ſeeking, but being ſought; nor as taking Government on themſelves, but beſtowing themſelves on Government. For 'tis not, as *Tiberius Cæſar* ſaid, a Shame for thoſe that are above threeſcore years old, to reach forth their Hands to the Phyſician; but it far more miſ-beſeems them to hold up their Hands to the People, to beg their Votes or Suffrages for the obtaining Offices; for this is ungenerous and mean, whereas the contrary has a certain Majeſty and Comlineſs, when his Country chooſing, inviting and expecting him, he comes down with Honour and Courteſie to welcome and receive the Preſent; truly befitting his old Age and Acceptance. After the ſame manner alſo ought he, that is grown old, to uſe his Speech in Aſſemblies, nor ever and anon climbring up to the Desk [to make Harangues,] nor always like a Cock, crowing againſt thoſe that ſpeak, nor letting the Reins of the young Mens Reſpect to him, by contending againſt them, and provoking them, not breeding in them a Deſire and Cuſtom of Diſobedience and Unwillingneſs to hear him; but to paſs by, and let them ſtrut and brave it againſt his Opinion; neither being preſent, nor concerning himſelf much at it as long as there is no great Danger to the Publick Safety, nor any Offence againſt what is honeſt and decent.

But in ſuch Caſes [on the contrary] he ought, though no Body call him, to run beyond his Strength, or to deliver himſelf to be led, or carry'd in a Chair, as Hiſto-

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rians report of *Claudius Appius* in *Rome*. For he having underſtood, that the Senate [after their Army had been in a great Fight worſted by *Pyrrhus*, were [debating about] receiving Propoſals of Peace and Alliance, could not bear it, but although he had loſt both his Eyes caus'd himſelf to be carry'd through the Common Place ſtrait to the Senate-houſe, where entring amongſt them, and ſtanding up in the midſt, he ſaid, That he had formerly indeed been troubled at his being depriv'd of his Sight but that he now wiſht he had alſo loſt his Ears, rather than to have heard, that the [*Roman* Senators [were conſulting and acting things ſo ungenerous and diſhonorable. And then partly reprehending, and partly teaching and exalting them, he perſwaded them to betake themſelves preſently to their Arms, and fight with *Pyrrhus* for [the Dominion of] *Italy*. And *Solon*, when the Popularity of *Piſiſtratus* was diſcover'd to be [only] a Plot [for the obtaining] of a Tyranny [over them,] none daring to oppoſe or impeach it, did himſelf bring forth his Arms, and ſetting them before [the Door of] his Houſe, call'd out to the People to aſſiſt him and when *Piſiſtratus* ſent to ask him, what gave him the Confidence to act in that manner; *My old Age*, anſwered he. For Matters, that are ſo neceſſary as theſe, inflame and rouſe up old Men, who are in a manner extinct, ſo that they have but any Breath yet left them; but in other Occurrences [an old Man,] as has been ſaid, ſhall be careful to avoid mean and ſervile Offices, and ſuch in which the trouble to thoſe, who manage them, exceeds the Advantage and profit, for which they are done. Sometimes by expecting alſo, till the Citizens call, and deſire, and fetch him out of Houſe, he is thought more worthy of Credit [and Authority,] by thoſe who requeſt him. And even when he is preſent, let him for the moſt part ſilently permit the younger Men to ſpeak as if he were an Arbitrator, judging, to whom the Reward and Honor of this their Debate about publick Matters ought to be given; but if any thing ſhould exceed a due Mediocrity, let him mildly reprehend it, and with Sweetneſs cut off all obſtinate Contentions, all injuri-

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ous and choleric Expreſſions, directing and teaching (without reproof) him, that errs in his Opinions, boldly praiſing him, that is in the Right, and often willingly ſuffering himſelf to be overcome, perſwaded and brought about, that he may hearten and encourage them, and ſometimes with Commendations ſupplying, what has been omitted, not unlikely to (aged) *Neſtor*, whom *Homer* makes to ſpeak in this manner:

There is no Greek, *can contradict, or mend,*
What you have ſaid; yet to no perfect End
Is your Speech brought. No Wonder for't appears,
You're young, and may my Son be for your Years.

But if it were yet more (Civil, and) Politic, not only in reprehending them openly, and in the Face of the People, to forbear that Sharpneſs of Speech, which exceedingly daſhes (a young Man,) and puts (him) out of Countenance, but rather (wholly abſtaining from all ſuch public Reproofs,) privately (to inſtruct) ſuch, as (one ſhall diſcern to) have a good *Genius* for the Managing of State Affairs, drawing them on by ſetting gently before them uſeful Counſels and Political Precepts, inciting them to commendable Actions, enlighting their Underſtanding, and ſhewing them, as thoſe do, who teach to Ride, how at their beginning to render the People tractable and mild; and if any young Man chances to fall, not to ſuffer him to lye gaſping and panting on the Ground, but to help him up, and comfort him, as *Ariſtides* dealt by *Cimon*, and *Meneſiphilas* by *Themiſtocles*, whom they rais'd up, and encourag'd, though at firſt they were harſhly receiv'd, and ill ſpoken of in the City, as audacious and intemperate. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that *Demoſthenes* being rejected by the People, and taking it to Heart, there came to him a certain old Man, who had in former Years been an Hearer of *Pericles*, and told him, that he naturally reſembling that great Man, did unjuſtly caſt down himſelf. In like manner *Euripides* exhorted *Timotheus*, when he was hiſs'd at for introducing of *Novilty*, and thought to transgreſs againſt (the Law of Muſick,) to be of good Courage, for that

that he ſhould in a ſhort time have all the Theatres ſubject to him.

In brief, as in *Rome* the *Veſtal* Virgins have their Time divided (into three parts,) in one of which they were to learn, (what belong'd to the Ceremonies of their Religion,) in the ſecond to execute what they had learnt, and in the third to (teach the younger;) and as in like manner they call every one of thoſe, who are conſecrated to the Service of *Diana* in *Epheſus*, firſt *Melliere*, (or one, that is, to be a Prieſteſs) then *Hiere*, (or Prieſteſs,) and thirdly, *Periere*, (or one that has been a Prieſteſs;) ſo he, that is a Perfect Stateſman, is at firſt a Learner in the Management of publick Affairs, than a Practitioner, and at laſt a Teacher and Inſtructer in the Myſteries (of Government.) For indeed he, who is to preſide or overſee others, that are (performing their Exerciſe, or) fighting of Prizes, cannot at the ſame exerciſe and) fight himſelf: But he, who inſtructs a young Man in publick Affairs and Negotiations of the State, and prepares him.

Both to ſpeak well, and act heroickly.

For (the Service of) his Country is in no ſmall or mean Degree uſeful to the Common-wealth; but in that, at which *Lycurgus* chiefly and principally aiming himſelf, accuſtom'd young Men to perſiſt in Obedience to every one, that was elder, as if he were a Law-giver; For to what, (think you,) had *Lyſander* reſpect, when he ſaid, that *in Lacedæmon* Men moſt honorably grew old? Was it, becauſe old Men moſt honorably grew after the Tilling of their Ground, put out Money to Uſe, ſit together at Tables, and after their Game take a chirping Cup? You will not, (I believe,) ſay any ſuch thing. But becauſe all ſuch Men, being after ſome ſort in the Place of Magiſtrates, fatherly Governors, or Tutors of Youth, inſpected not only the Publick Affairs, but alſo made inquiry, (and that) not ſlightly into every Action of the younger Men, both as concerning their Exerciſes, Recreations and Diet, being terrible

indeed to Offenders, but venerable and deſirable to the Good. For young Men indeed always venerate and follow thoſe, who increaſe and cheriſh the Neatneſs and Generoſity of their Diſpoſition without any Envy. For this Vice, though beſeeming no Age, is nevertheleſs in young Men veil'd with ſpecious Names, being ſtil'd Emulation, Zeal and Deſire of Honour; but in old Men 'tis altogether unſeaſonable, ſavage and unmanly. Therefore a Stateſman, that is in years, muſt be very far from being Envious, and not like thoſe old Trees and Stocks, which, as with a certain Charm, manifeſtly withdraw the nutritive Juice from ſuch young Plants, as grew near them, or ſpring up under them, and hinder their Growth; but kindly to admit, and even offer himſelf to thoſe, that apply themſelves to him, and ſeek to converſe with him, directing, leading and educating them, not only by good Inſtructions and Counſels, but alſo by affording them the Means of adminiſtring ſuch publick Affairs, as many bring them Honor and Repute, and executing ſuch unprejudicial Commiſſions, as will be pleaſing and acceptable to the Multitude. But for ſuch things, as, being untoward and difficult, do, like Medicines, at firſt gripe and moleſt, but afterwards yield Honor and Profit; upon theſe things he ought not to put young Men, nor expoſe thoſe, who are unexperienc'd, to the Mutinous Clamors of the rude and ill-natur'd Multitude, but ſhould rather take the *Odium* upon himſelf for ſuch things, as (though harſh and unpleaſing) may yet prove beneficial to the Common-wealth; for this will render the young Men both more affectionate to him, and more chearful in (the Undertaking) other Services.

But beſides all this, (that we have already ſaid,) we are (to conſider and) keep in mind, that to be a Stateſman, is not only to bear Offices, go on Embaſſies, talk aloud in publick Meetings, and thunder on the Bench, ſpeaking and writing ſuch things, in which the vulgar think the Art of Government to conſiſt; as they alſo do, that thoſe only Philoſophize, who diſpute from a Chair, and ſpend their Leiſure time in Books. But the Policy

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and Philoſophy, continually exercis'd in Works, and conſpicuous in Actions, was no wiſe unknown to them; for they ſay, as *Dicæarchus* affirm'd, that they, who fetch Turns to and fro in Galleries, walk; but not they, who go into the Country, or to [viſit] a Friend. But the being a Stateſman is like the being a Philoſopher. Wherefore *Socrates* did not only Philoſophize, when he neither plac'd Benches, nor ſeated himſelf in his Chair, nor kept the Hour of Conference and Walking, appointed for his Diſciples, but alſo when, as it hapned, he play'd, drank, went to War with ſome, bargain'd, finally, even when he was impriſon'd, and drank the Poyſon: having firſt ſhewn, that [Mans] Life does at all times, in every part, and univerſally in all Paſſions and Actions admit of Philoſophy. The ſame alſo we are to underſtand of Civil Government, [to wit,] that Fools do not adminiſter the State, either when they lead forth Armies, write Diſpatches [and Edicts,] or make Speeches to the People; but that they either [endeavor to inſinuate themſelves into the Favour of the Vulgar, and] become popular, ſeek applauſe by their Harangues, raiſe Seditions and Diſturbances, or [at the beſt] perform ſome Service, as compell'd by Neceſſity. But he, that ſeeks the publick Good, loves his Country and Fellow Citizens, has a ſerious regard [to the Welfare of the State,] and is a true Common-wealths-man, ſuch an one, [though he never puts on [the military Garment, or Senatorial] Robe, is yet always imploy'd in the Adminiſtration of the State, by inciting [to Action] thoſe, who are able, guiding [and inſtructing] thoſe, that want it, aſſiſting [and adviſing] thoſe, that ask Counſel, detering [and reclaiming] thoſe, that are ill given, [and about to do miſchief] and confirming [and encouraging] thoſe, that are well minded; ſo that 'tis manifeſt, he does not for faſhions ſake apply himſelf to the Publick Affairs, nor go [then] to the Theatre or Counſel, when there is any haſt, or he is ſent for [by Name,] that he may have the firſt Place there, being otherwiſe [only] preſent for his Recreation, as when he goes to [ſee] ſome Show, or to hear [a Conſort of Muſick;] but

(on the contrary,) though abſent in Body, yet is he preſent in Mind, and being inform'd of what is done, approves ſome things, and diſapproves others. For neither did *Ariſtides* amongſt the *Athenians*, nor *Cato* amongſt the *Romans* often execute the Office of Chief Magiſtrate, and yet, both the one and the other employ'd their whole Lives perpetually in the Service of their Country. And *Epaminondas* indeed, being General, perform'd many and great Actions; but yet there is related an Exploit of his, when he had neither Command in the Army, nor Office in the State, not inferior to any of them; perform'd about *Theſſaly*; for, when the Commanders, having through Inadvertency drawn a Squadron into a difficult and diſadvantageous Ground, were in amaze, for that the Enemies preſs'd hard upon them, galling them with their Arrows; he, being call'd up from amongſt the heavy arm'd Foot, firſt by his encouraging them, diſſipated the Trouble and Fright of the Army, and then having arrang'd and brought into Order that Squadron, whoſe Ranks had been broken, he eaſily diſengag'd them out of thoſe Straits, and plac'd them in front againſt their Enemies, who, thereupon changing their Reſolutions, marcht off. Alſo when *Agis*, King of *Sparta*, was leading on his Army, already put in good Order for Fight againſt the Enemies, a certain old *Spartan* call'd out aloud to him, that he thought to cure one Evil by another; ſhewing, that he was deſirous, the preſent unſeaſonable Promptneſs to fight ſhould ſalve the Diſgrace of their over-haſty Departure from before *Argos*, as *Thucydides* ſays. Now *Agis*, hearing him, took his Advice, and at that preſent retreated; but afterwards, got the Victory. And there was every day ſet a Chair for him before the Doors of the Palace, and the *Ephori*, often riſing from their Conſiſtory, and going to him, ask'd his Advice, and conſulted him about the greateſt and moſt important Affairs: for he was eſteem'd very prudent, and is recorded to have been a Man of great Senſe. And therefore having now wholly exhauſted the Strength of his Body, and being for the

moſt part ty'd to his Bed, when the *Ephori* ſent for him to the common Hall of the City, he ſtrove to get up, and go to them; but walking heavily, and with great Difficulty, and meeting by the way certain Boys, he askt them whether they knew any thing ſtronger than the Neceſſity of obeying their Maſter. And they anſwering him, that Inability was of greater Force, he ſuppoſing, that this ought to be the Limit of his Service, turn'd back again homewards. For a Readineſs and Good Will to ſerve the Publick, ought not to fail, whilſt Ability laſts; but when that is once gone, 'tis no longer to be forc'd. And indeed *Scipio*, both in War and Peace, always us'd *Caius Lælius* for a Councellor; inſomuch that ſome ſaid, *Scipio* was the Actor of thoſe noble Exploits, and *Caius* the Poet, or Author. And *Cicero* himſelf confeſs'd, that the honourableſt and greateſt of his Councels, by the right performance of which he in his Conſulſhip preſerv'd his Country, were concerted with *Publius Nigidius* the Philoſopher. Thus is there nothing, that in many manners of Government hinders old Men from helping the Publick by the beſt things, to wit, by their Reaſon, Sentences, Freedom of Speech, and ſollicitous Care, as the Poets term it. For not only our Hands, Feet and corporeal Strength are the Poſſeſſion and Share of the Common-wealth; but chiefly our Soul, and the Beauties of our Soul, Juſtice, Temperance and Prudence, which receiving their Perfection late and ſlowly, 'twere abſur'd, that Men ſhould come to enjoy Houſe and Land, and other Wealth, and yet ſhould not be beneficial to their common Country and Fellow Citizens, by continuance of Time, which does not ſo much detract from their Miniſterial Abilities, as it adds to their directive and Political. And this is the reaſon, why they pourtray'd the elder *Mercuries* without Hands and Feet, but having their natural parts ſtiff, enigmatically repreſenting, that there is no great need of old Mens corporal Services, if they have but their Reaſon, as is convenient, active and fruitful

Political Precepts, [or Inſtructions for the Managin of State Affairs.]

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by* Sam. White, *M. D.*

I. Plutarch, *to ſatisfie* Menemachus's *Requeſt, who was entring upon publick Employs, gives him a conſiderable Number of Precepts and Advertiſements, accompany'd with ſeveral Examples, to fit him for that Deſign.* * Iliad 9.

IF ever, O *Menemachus*, that [Saying of *Neſtors* in *Homer*, *]

There is no Greek, *can contradict*
(or mena
What you have ſaid., yet to no per
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Is your Speech brought ———

might pertinently be made uſe of, [and apply'd,] 'ti againſt thoſe exhorting, but nothing teaching, nor an way inſtructing, Philoſophers, (who ſufficiently indee incite Men to the performance of their Duties, but la not down any Precepts or Rules, by which they ma be guided and directed:) for they do (in this reſpect reſemble thoſe, who are indeed careful in ſnuffing th Lamps, but negligent in ſupplying them with Oyl. See ing therefore that you, being by Reaſon mov'd to (en gage your ſelf in) the Affairs of the State, deſires, as b comes the Nobility (of your Family,)

* Iliad. 9. * *Both to ſpeak, and act heroickly.*

in (the Service of) your Country; and that, not ha ving (attain'd to that Maturity of) Age, to have ob ſerv'd, the Life of a (wiſe and) philoſophical Man, o penly ſpent in the Tranſactions of the State and pub lick Debates, and to have been a Spectator of (wor thy) Examples, repreſented not in Word, but in Deed you requeſt me to lay you down (ſome) political Pre cepts (and Inſtructions,) I think it no ways becomin me to give you a Denial, but (heartily) wiſh, that th Work may be worthy both of your Zeal, and my For wardneſs. Now I have, according to your Requeſt made uſe (in this my Diſcourſe) of ſundry variou Examples,

II. *First, he requires of him, that will enter upon the Management of State-Affairs, that he bring a good Intention, looking at a right end, without Ambition, Envy, Jealousie, &c.*

First then for the Administration of State-Affairs, let there be laid, as a firm and solid Foundation, an Intention (and Purpose,) having for its Principle, Judgment and Reason, and not any Impulse from Vain-Glory, Emulation, or want of other Employment. For as those, who have nothing graceful to them at Home, frequently spend their time in the *Forum* (or Common Hall,) tho' they have no occasion that requires it; so some Men, because they have no Business of their own, worth employing themselves in, thrust themselves into publick Affairs, using Policy as a Divertisement Many also, having been by chance engag'd in the Negotiations of the Commonweal, and being cloy'd with them, cannot yet easily quit them; in which they suffer the same with those, who, going on board a Ship, that they may be there a little toss'd, and being after carry'd away into the Deep, send forth many a long Look towards the Shore, being Sea-sick and giddy-headed, and yet necessitated to stay and accommodate themselves to their present Fortune.

Several sorts of Persons, who commit great Faults in reference to this first Point.

Past is the lovely Pleasure,
They took, when th' Sea was calm, and Weather bright.
In walking at their leisure
On the Ships Deck,
Whilst her sharp Beek
With merry Gale,
And full blown Sail,
Did thro' the surging Billows cut its Course aright.

And these do most of all discredit the Matter by their Repenting and being discontented, when either hoping for Glory, they fall into Disgrace, or expecting to become formidable to others by their Power, they are engag'd in Affairs, full of Dangers and Troubles. But he, who on a well grounded Principle of Reason under-

takes to act in the Publick, as an Employ very honourable, and moſt beſeeming him, is diſmay'd by none of theſe things; nor does he (therefore) change his Opinion. * For we muſt not come to the Management of the Common-weal, on a Deſign of gaining and growing rich by it, as thoſe about *Stratocles* and *Democlides* exhorted one another to the *Golden Harveſt* ſo in Mirth terming the Tribunal or Place of making Harangues to the People; nor yet as ſeized with ſome ſudden fit of Paſſion, as did heretofore *Caius Gracchus*, who, having, whilſt his brothers Misfortunes were hot, withdrawn himſelf to a retir'd Life moſt remote from Publick Affairs, did afterwards, inflam'd by Indignation at the Injuries and Affronts, put on him by ſome Perſons, thruſt himſelf into the State where being ſoon fill'd with Affairs and Glory, when he ſought to deſiſt, and deſir'd Change and Repoſe, he could not (ſo great was it grown) find how to lay down his Authority, but periſht with it. And as for thoſe, who through Emulation and [Deſire of Glory] frame themſelves [for the Public,] as Actors for the Stage, they muſt needs repent [of their Deſign, finding themſelves under a Neceſſity of] either ſerving thoſe, whom they think themſelves worthy to govern, or diſobliging thoſe, whom they deſire to pleaſe.

* Againſt thoſe, who through Avarice, Ambition, or Envy, thruſt themſelves into the State.

III. *He ſhews by fit Similitudes, how they ought to be diſpoſed; who enter on the Management of great Affairs: that is, to conſider, and throughly underſtand the Diſpoſition of thoſe, they are to govern, that by ſuiting themſelves to it, they may win them by little and little.*

Now I am of Opinion, that thoſe who by chance, and without foreſight, ſtumble upon Policy, falling as it were into a Pit, cannot but be troubled and repent; whereas they that go leiſurely into it, with Preparation and a good Reſolution comfort themſelves moderately in [all] Occurrences, as having no other End of their Actions, but [the diſcharging of their Duty with] Honour. Now they, that have

have thus grounded their Choice within themſelves, and render'd it immoveable and difficult to be chang'd, muſt ſet themſelves to contemplate the Diſpoſition of the Citizens, [or People they have to govern,] chiefly, as it appears to be moſt prevalent, being compounded of them all. For the Endeavouring preſently to form the Manners and change the Nature of a People, is neither eaſie nor ſafe, but a Work requiring much Time and great Authority. But, as Wine in the Beginning is overcome by the Nature of the Drinker, but afterwards gently warming him, and mixing it ſelf in his Veins aſſimilates and changes him, who drinks it, into its own Likeneſs; ſo muſt a States-man, till he has by his Reputation and Credit obtain'd a leading Power amongſt the People, accommodate himſelf to the Diſpoſitions of the Subjects, knowing how to conſider and conjecture thoſe things, with which the People are naturally delighted, and by which they are uſually drawn. The *Athenians*, to wit, are eaſily mov'd to Anger, and not difficultly chang'd to Mercy; more willing to ſuſpect quickly, than to be inform'd by leiſure; and as they are readier to help mean and inconſiderable Perſons, ſo do they embrace and eſteem facetious and merry Speeches; they are exceedingly delighted with thoſe that praiſe them, and very little offended with ſuch, as jear them; they are terrible even to their Governors, and yet courteous to their very Enemies. Far other is the Diſpoſition of the *Carthaginians*, ſevere, rigid, obſequious to their Rulers, harſh to their Subjects, moſt abject in their Fear, moſt cruel in their Anger, firm in their Reſolutions, untractable and hard to be mov'd by ſportive and pleaſant Diſcourſe. Should *Cleon* have requeſted them to defer their Aſſembly, becauſe he had ſacrific'd to the Gods, and was to feaſt certain Strangers, they would not have riſen up, laughing and clapping their Hands for Joy; nor, if *Alcibiades*, as he was making an Harangue to them, had let ſlip a Quail from under his Cloak, would they have ſtriven, who

An Example in the People of *Athens*.

Another Example in the *Carthaginians*.

who ſhould catch her, and reſtore her to him again; but would rather have kill'd them both on the place, as contemning and deriding them; ſince they baniſh'd *Hanno* for making uſe of a Lion to carry his Baggage to the Army, accuſing him to affect a Tyranny. Neither do I think, that the *Thebans*, if they had been made Maſters of their Enemies Letters, would have forborn looking into them as did the *Athenians*, when having taken the Meſſengers of *Philip*, who were carrying a Letter ſuperſcrib'd to *Olympias*, they would not ſo much as open it, or diſcover the conjugal Secrets of an abſent Husband, written to his Wife. Nor yet do I believe, that the *Athenians* on the other ſide would have patiently ſuffer'd the Haughtineſs and Diſdain of *Epaminondas*, when refuſing to anſwer an Accuſation brought againſt him, he roſe up from the Theatre, and went away through the midſt of the Aſſembly to the place of publick Exerciſes. And much leſs am I of Opinion, that the *Spartans* would have endur'd the Contumely and Scurility of *Stratocles*, who perſuaded the People to offer Sacrifices of Thankſgiving to the Gods, as having obtain'd the Victory, and afterwards, when, being truly inform'd of the Loſs they had receiv'd, they were angry with him, ask'd them, what Injury they had ſuſtain'd, in having through his means ſpent three Days merrily.

A third Example in the *Thebans* and *Lacedemonians*.

IV. *A good Governour ought not to accommodate himſelf to the Vices of the People, but to manage them diſcretly, and withdraw them by degrees from Evil; and the Means of arriving at ſuch an Happineſs.*

Courtly Flatterers indeed, like to Quail-Catchers, by imitating the Voices, and aſſimilating themſelves to the Manners of Kings, chiefly inſinuate into their Favors, and entrap them by Deceit; but 'tis not convenient for a States-man to imitate the Peoples Manners, but to know them, and make uſe of thoſe things toward every Perſon, by which he is moſt likely to be taken. For the Ignorance of Mens Humors brings no leſs Diſorders and Obſtacles in Common-weals, than in the Friendſhips of Kings.

Kings. When therefore you ſhall have already gotten Power and Authority amongſt the People, then muſt you endeavor to reform their Diſpoſition, treating them gently, and by little and little drawing them to what is better. For the Changing of a Multitude is a difficult and laborious Work. But as for your own Manners and Behaviour, ſo compoſe and adorn them, as knowing, that you are henceforth to lead your Life on an open Stage, and if 'tis no eaſie Task for you wholly to extripate Vice out of your Soul, at leaſt take away and retrench thoſe Offences which are moſt notorious and apparent. For you cannot but have heard, how *Themiſtocles*, when he deſign'd to enter upon the Management of publick Affairs withdrew himſelf from Drinking and Revelling, and that Watching, Faſting and ſtudying he ſaid to his intimate Friends, that *Miltiades*'s Trophy ſuffer'd him not to ſleep. And *Pericles* alſo ſo chang'd himſelf, both as to the Comportment of his Body, and his manner of Living, that he walkt gravely, diſcours'd affably, always ſhew'd a ſtay'd and ſetled Countenance, continually kept his Hand under his Robe, and went only that way, which led to the pleading Place and Council. For a Multitude is not ſo tractable, as that it ſhould be eaſie for every one to take it with Safety; but 'tis a Service, much to be valu'd, if, being like a ſuſpicious and skittiſh Beaſt, it can be ſo manag'd, that without being * frighted either by Sight or Voice, it will ſubmit to receive Inſtruction. Theſe things therefore are not ſlightly to be obſerv'd; nor are we to neglect taking ſuch Care of our own Life and Manners, that they may be clear from all Stain and Reprehenſion. For States-men are not only liable to give an Account of what they ſay or do in publick; but there is a buſie Enquiry made into their very Meals, Beds, Marriages, and every either ſportive or ſerious Action. For what need we ſpeak of *Alcibiades*, who, be of all Men the moſt active in publick Affairs, and withal, an invinci-

I. He muſt reform himſelf the firſt, after the Example of *Themiſtocles*, and others.

* For πνεόμενον, I read πλεόμενον.

ble

ble Commander, periſht by his irregularity in his Living and Audaciouſneſs, and who by his Luxury, and Prodigality, render'd the State unbenefited by all his other good Qualities? Since theſe [*Athenians*] blam'd *Cimons* Wine, the *Romans* having nothing elſe to cavil at, found fault with *Scipio*'s Sleeping, and the Enemies of *Pompey* the Great, having obſerv'd that he ſcratch'd his Head with one Finger, upbraided him with it. For as a Freckle or Wart in the Face is more prejudicial than Stains, Maims and Scars in the reſt of the Body; ſo little Faults, diſcern'd in the Lives of Princes and States-men, appear great, tho' an Opinion moſt Men have conceiv'd of Government and Policy, [which they look on] as a great [and Excellent] thing, and ſuch as ought to be pure from all Abſurdity and Imperfection. Therefore not unjuſtly is * *Livius Druſus* commended, who, when ſeveral Parts of his Houſe lay open to the View of his Neighbours, being told by a certain Workman, that he would for the Expence only of five Talents, alter and remedy that Fault, ſaid; *I will give thee indeed ten, to make my whole Houſe ſo tranſparent, that all the City may ſee, how I live.* For he was a temperate and modeſt Man. And yet perhaps he had no need of this Perſpicuity; for many Perſons pry into thoſe Manners, Counſels, Actions and Lives of States-men, which ſeem to be moſt deeply conceal'd, no leſs loving and admiring one, and hating and deſpiſing another for their private, than for their publick Tranſactions. What then? [perhaps you may ſay;] Do not Cities make uſe alſo of ſuch Men, as live diſſolutely and effeminately? True; for as [we ſee] Women with Child frequently long for Stones [and Chalk,] as thoſe that are Stomach-ſick, do for Salt-fiſh, and ſuch other Meats, which a little after they ſpit out again and reject; ſo alſo the People ſometimes thro' Wantonneſs and Petulancy, and ſometimes for want

An apt and well chosen Similitude.

* For Ἰούλιος, I read Λίβιος.

An Anſwer to an Objection againſt what is requir'd, that a Governor ſhould firſt reform himſelf.

want of better Guides make uſe of thoſe, that comes firſt to hand, [tho' at the ſame time] deteſting and contemning them, and after rejoyce at ſuch things, ſpoken againſt them, as the *Comedian Plato* makes the People themſelves to ſay;

Quick, take me by the Hand, and hold me faſt,
Or I'll Agyraius *Captain chooſe in haſt.*

And again he brings them in, calling for a Baſin and Feather, that they may vomit, and ſaying;

Mantile *here by my Tribunal ſtands;*

And a little after,

It feeds a ſtinking Head, moſt foul Diſeaſe.

And the *Roman* People, when *Carbo* promiſs'd them ſomething, and, [to confirm it,] added an Oath and Execration, unanimouſly ſwore on the contrary, that they would not believe him. And in *Lacedemon*, when a certain diſſolute Man, [nam'd] *Demoſthenes*, had deliver'd a very convenient Opinion, the People rejected it; but the *Ephori*, [who approv'd of his Advice,] having choſen by Lot one of the ancient [Senators,] commanded him to repeat the ſame Diſcourſe, pouring it (as it were) out of a filthy Veſſel into a clean one, that it might be acceptable to the Multitude; of ſo great moment either way in political Affairs is the Belief conceiv'd of a Perſons [Diſpoſition and] Manners. Yet are we not therefore ſo to lay the whole [Streſs] on Vertue, as [utterly] to neglect [all] Gracefulneſs and Efficacy of Speech, but eſteeming Rhetorick, though not the Worker, yet a Coadjutor [and Forward] of Perſwaſion, ſhould correct that Saying of *Menander*.

2. He ought to be knowing and eloquent, that he may perſuade and bring the People to Reaſon.

The Speakers Manners, not his Speech, perſuade.

For both Life and Language ought to concur, unleſs any one forſooth ſhall ſay, that, as it is the Pilot, who ſteers the Ship, and not the Rudder, and the Rider, that turns the Horſe and not the Bridle; ſo Political Vertue,

Vertue, uſing not Eloquence, but Manners, as an Helm and Bridle, perſwades and guides a City, which is (to ſpeak with *Plato*) an Animal moſt eaſy to be turn'd, managing and directing it, as it were, from the Poop. For ſince thoſe great, and as *Homer* calls them, *Jove*-begotten Kings, ſetting themſelves out with their Purple, Scepters, Guards, and the very Oracles of the Gods, and ſubjecting to them by their Majeſty the Multitude, as if they were of a better Nature, and more excellent Mould than other Men, deſir'd alſo to be eloquent Orators, and neglected neither the Gracefulneſs of Speech;

An Example in great Kings.

Nor publick Meeting, that more perfect they
Might be for Feats of War; —

not only venerating *Jupiter* the Counſellor, *Mars* the Slaughterer, and *Pallas* the Warrior, but invocating alſo *Calliope*,

Who ſtill attends on Regal Majeſty.

by her perſwaſive Oratory appeaſing, and moderating the Fierceneſs and Violence of the People; How is it poſſible, that a private Man in a Plebeian Garb, and with a Vulgar Meen, undertaking to conduct a City, ſhould ever be able to prevail over, and govern the Multitude, if he is not endow'd with alluring and all-perſwading Eloquence. The Captains indeed, and Pilots of Ships make uſe of others to deliver their Commands; but a States-man ought to have in himſelf not only a Spirit of Government, but alſo a commanding Faculty of Speech, that he may not ſtand in need of anothers Voice, nor be conſtrain'd to ſay, as did *Iphicrates* when he was run down by the Eloquence of thoſe about *Ariſtophon*; *My Adverſaries have the better Actors, but mine is the more excellent Play*, nor yet be often oblig'd to make uſe of theſe Words of *Euripides*.

O that the Race of miſerable Men
Were ſpeechleſs;

An

And again,

Alas! Why have not Mens Affairs a Tongue,
That thoſe fine Pleaders, who of Right make Wrong,
Might be no longer in Requeſt?

For to theſe Evaſions perhaps might an *Alcamenes*, a *Neſiotes*, an *Ictius*, and all ſuch Mechanical Perſons, as get their Bread by the Labour of their Hands, be permitted to have recourſe. [As it ſometime hapned] in *Athens*, where, when two Architects were examin'd about the erecting a certain publick Work, one of them, who was of a free and voluble Speech, and had his Tongue (as we ſay) well hung, making a long and premeditated Harangue concerning the Method and Order of raiſing ſuch a Fabrick, greatly mov'd the People; but the other, who was indeed the better Workman, thô the worſe Speaker, coming forth into the midſt, only ſaid; *Ye Men of* Athens, *what this Man has ſpoken, I will do.* For thoſe Men venerate only *Minerva*, ſurnam'd *Ergane*, or the Artizan, who as *Sophocles* ſays of them,

Do on the maſſy Anvil lay
A lifeleſs Iron Bar, where they
With Blows of heavy Hammer make
It pliant to the Work, they undertake.

But the Prophet or Miniſter of *Minerva Polias*, that is, the Protectreſs of Cities, and of *Themis*, or Juſtice, the Counſeller,

(Which both convenes Aſſemblies, and again
Diſſolves them,) ——

Making uſe of no other Inſtrument, but Speech, does by forming and faſhioning ſome things, and ſmoothing and poliſhing others, that, like certain Knots in Timber, or Flaws in Iron, are averſe to his Work, embelliſh and adorn a City. * By this means the Government of *Pericles* was in name, as *Thucydides* ſays) a Democracy, or popular State, but in effect, the Rule of one principal Man thrô the Power of his Eloquence. For there was living at the ſame time

* Another Example of the Power of Eloquence in *Pericles*.

Cimon

Cimon a good Man, as alſo *Ephialtis* and *Thucydides*; Now he, being askt by *Archidamus*, whether himſelf or *Pericles* were the better Wreſtler, thus anſwer'd; *That is not eaſily known; for when I in Wreſtling overthrow him, he, by his Words perſwading the Spectators, that he did not fall, gains the Victory.* And this did not only bring Glory to himſelf, but Safety alſo to the City; for being perſwaded by him it preſerv'd the Happineſs, it had gotten, and abſtain'd from intermedling with foreign Affairs. But *Nicias*, tho' having the ſame Deſign, yet falling ſhort in the Art of Perſwaſion, when he endeavour'd by his Speech, as by a gentle Curb, to reſtrain and turn the People, could not compaſs it, or prevail with them, but was fain to depart, being violently hurry'd, and dragg'd, as it were, by the Neck and Shoulders into *Sicily*. They ſay, that a Wolf is not to be held by the Ears; but a People and City are chiefly to be drawn by the Ears, and not, as ſome do, who, being unpractis'd in Eloquence, ſeek other abſurd and unartificial ways of taking them, and either draw them by the Belly, making them Feaſts and Banquets, or by the Purſe, beſtowing on them Gifts and Largeſſes, or by the Eye, exhibiting to the Masks and Prizes, or Publick Shews of Dancers and Fencers, by which they do not ſo much lead, as cunningly catch the People. For to lead a People is to perſwade them by Reaſon and Eloquence; but ſuch Allurements of the Multitude nothing differ from the Baits, laid for the taking of irrational Animals.

V. *Having prov'd that the good Life and Eloquence of him, who deſires well to manage publick Affairs, are the Foundations of his Authority, and conſidering of what weight ſuch a Perſons Speech is, he ſhews how he ought to behave himſelf in it.*

Let not yet the Speech of a Stateſman be youthful and theatrical, as if he were making an Harangue, compos'd, like a Garland of curious and florid Words; nor again, as *Pytheas* ſaid of an Oration, made by *Demoſthenes*, that it ſmelt of the Lamp and ſophiſtical Curioſity, let it conſiſt of over-ſubtil Arguments and Periods, exactly fram'd by Rule and Compaſs. But as

Muſicians

Muſicians require, that the Strings of their Inſtruments ſhould be ſweetly and gently touch'd, and not rudely thumm'd or beaten; ſo in the Speech of a Stateſman, both when he counſels, and when he commands, there ſhould not appear either Violence or Cunning, nor ſhould he think himſelf worthy of Commendation, for having ſpoken formally, artificially, and with an exact Obſervation of Punctualities; but his whole Diſcourſe ought to be full of ingenuous Simplicity, true Magnanimity, fatherly Freedom, and careful Providence and Underſtanding, Joyning with Goodneſs, and Honeſty, Graceſulneſs and Attraction, proceeding from grave Expreſſions, and proper and and perſwaſive Sentences. Now a political Oration does much more properly, than a juridical one admit of ſententious Speeches, Hiſtories, Fables and Metaphors, by which thoſe who moderately and ſeaſonably uſe them, exceedingly move their Hearers; as he did, who ſaid, *Make not Greece one ey'd*; and *Demades*, when he affirm'd of himſelf,* that he was to manage Shipwork of the State; and *Archilocus*, when he ſaid,

Nor let the Stone of Tantalus,
Over this Iſle hang always thus;

And *Pericles*, when he commanded ‖ the Eye-ſore of the *Piræum*, to be taken away: and *Phocion*, when he pronounc'd of *Leoſthenes*'s Victory, that the *Stadium* or Carrier of the War was good; but that he fear'd the *Dolichus* or Afterclap and Length of it. But in general. Majeſty and Greatneſs more benefits a political Diſcourſe; a Pattern of which may be the ‖ *Phillippicks*, and amongſt the Orations ſet down by *Thucidides*, the *Sthenelaida* of *Ephorus*, that of *Archidamus* at *Plataæ*, and that of *Pericles* after the Plague. But as for thoſe Rhetorical Flouriſhes and Harangues of *Ephorus*, *Theopompus*

* When there was a Deſign of deſtroying *Athens*

‖ So he call'd the little I. ſtand *Ægina*.

1. The Diſcourſe of a Stateſman ought to be majeſtick and great: witneſs the moſt excellent Magiſtrates ‖ Orations of *Demoſthenes* againſt King *Philip*.

2. It ſhould ſometimes be Pickant, eſpecially in Replyes but moderately.

and *Anaximenes*, which they made after they had arm'd and ſet in order the Batallions, it may be ſaid of them,

None talks thus fooliſhly ſo near the Sword.

Nevertheleſs, both Taunts and Raillery may ſometimes be part of political Diſcourſe; ſo they proceed not to Injury or Scurrility, but are uſefully ſpoken by him, who either reprehends or ſcoffs. But theſe things ſeem moſt to be allow'd in Anſwers and Replies. For in that manner to begin a Diſcourſe, as if one had purpoſely prepar'd himſelf for it, is the part of a common Jeſter, and carries with it an Opinion of Maliciouſneſs; as was incident to the biting Jeſts of *Cicero*, *Cato* the Elder, and *Euxitheus*, an intimate Acquaintance of *Ariſtotles* who frequently began firſt to jear; but in him, who does it only in Revenge, the Seaſonableneſs of it renders it not only pardonable, but alſo graceful. Such was the Anſwer of *Demoſthenes*, when one that was ſuſpected of Thievery, derided him for writing by Night, *I know that the keeping my Candle burning all Nigh, is offenſive to you.* So when *Demades* bawl'd out, Demoſthenes *forſooth, would correct me*; *thus would the Sow, as the Proverb has it, teach* Minerva: *That* Minerva, reply'd *Demoſthenes, was not long ſince taken in Adultery.* Not ungraceful alſo was that of *Xenænetus* to thoſe Citizens, who upbraided him with flying when he was General, *'Twas with you my dear* || *Hearts.* But in Raillery great Care is to be taken for the avoiding of Exceſs, and of any thing, that may either by its unſeaſonableneſs offend the Hearers, or ſhew the Speaker to be of an ungenerous and ſordid Diſpoſition, ſuch as were the Sayings of *Democrates*. For he, going up into the Aſſembly, ſaid, that like the City, he had little Force, but much Wind; and at the Overthrow before *Cheron*[illegible] going forth to the People, he ſaid: *I would not have had the State to be in ſo ill a Condition, that you ſhould be contented to hear me alſo giving you Counſel.* For this ſhew'd a mean Spirited

Notable Examples.

|| The *Greek* has κεφαλαὶ, which ſignifies *Heads.*

Spirited Perſon, as the other did a Madman; but neither of them was becoming a Stateſman. Now the Succinctneſs of *Phocion*'s Speech was admir'd; whence *Pobycuctus* affirm'd, that *Demoſthenes* was the greateſt Orator; but that *Phocion* ſpake moſt forcibly; for that his Diſcourſe did in very few Words contain abundance of Matter; and *Demoſthenes*, who contemn'd others, was wont, when *Phocion* ſtood up, to ſay, *The Hatchet* [or *Pruning Knife*] *of my Orations ariſe.* Let your chief Endeavour therefore be to uſe to the Multitude a premeditated, and not empty Speech, and that with ſafety, knowing that *Pericles* himſelf, before he made any Diſcourſe to the People, was wont to pray, that there might not a Word paſs from him, foreign to the Buſineſs, [he was to treat of.] 'Tis requiſite alſo, that you have a voluble Tongue, and exercis'd in ſpeaking on all Occurrences; for Occaſions are quick, and bring many ſudden things in political Affairs. Wherefore alſo *Demoſthenes* was, as they ſay, inferior to many, withdrawing and abſconding himſelf, when ſudden Occaſion offer'd. And *Theophraſtus* relates, that *Alcibiades*, deſirous to ſpeak not only what he ought, but as he ought; often heſitated, and ſtood ſtill in the midſt of his Speech, ſeeking and compoſing Expreſſions, [fit for his purpoſe.] But he, who, as Matters and Occaſions preſent themſelves, riſes up to ſpeak, moſt of all moves, leads and diſpoſes of the Multitude. Thus *Leo Bizantinus* came to make an Herangue to the *Athenians*, being then at diſſention amongſt themſelves, by whom, when he perceiv'd himſelf to be laugh'd at for the Littleneſs of his Stature, *What would you do*, ſaid, he, *if you ſaw my Wife, who ſcarce reaches up to my Knees?* And the Laughter thereupon increaſing, *Yet*, went he on, *as little as we are, when we fall out with one another, the City of* Bizantium *is not big enough to hold us.* So *Pytheas* the Orator, who declaim'd againſt the Honors, decreed to *Alexander*, when one ſaid to him, *Dare you, being ſo young, diſcourſe of ſo great Matters?* made this Anſwer, *And yet* Alexander, *whom you decree to be a*

3. He ought, after *Pericles* and others, to uſe a Language, brief, ſententious, and premeditated, and be fram'd to anſwer and reply on Occaſions.

God, is younger than I am. 'Tis requiſite alſo for the Champion of the Common-weal to bring to this, not ſlight, but all concerning Conteſt, a firm and ſolid Speech, attended with a ſtrong Habit of Voice, and a long laſting Breath, leaſt being tyred and ſpent with Speaking, he chance to be overcome by

* A Brook near *Athens*, the Waters of which fell with an extraordinary Noiſe.

Some rav'ning Cryer, with a roaring (Voice,
Loud, as * Cycloborus. ——

Cato, when he had no hopes of perſuading the People or Senate, whom he found prepoſſeſs'd by the Courtſhips and Endeavours of the contrary Party, was wont to riſe up, and hold them a whole Day with an Oration, by that means depriving his Adverſaries of their Opportunity. And thus much concerning the Preparation and Uſe of Speech may be ſufficient for him, who can of himſelf find out and add what neceſſarily follows from it.

VI. *He now ſhews the two ways of entring into publick Affairs, diſcourſing very pertinently of the firſt, and declaring, what is to be done, and what to be avoided in it.*

There are moreover two Avenues or Ways of entring into the Government of the State; the one ſhort and expeditious to the Luſtre of Glory, but not without danger; the other more obſcure and ſlow, but having alſo greater Security: For ſome there are, who, beginning with ſome great and illuſtrious Action, but which requires a couragious Boldneſs, do, like to thoſe that from a far extended Promontory, lanch forth into the Deep, ſteer directly into the very midſt of publick Affairs, thinking *Pindar* to have been in the right, when he ſaid,

If you a ſtately Fabrick do deſign,
Be ſure, that your Works Front with Luſtre ſhine.

For

For both the Multitude do thro' a certain Satiety and Loathing of thoſe, to whom they have been accuſtom'd, more readily receive a Beginner, as the Beholders do a freſh entring] Combatant, and the] Dignities and Authorities, which have a ſplendid and ſpeedy Encreaſe, [dazzle and] aſtoniſh Envy: For neither does that Fire, as *Ariſton* ſays, make a Smoak, nor that Glory breed Envy, which ſuddenly and quickly ſhines forth; but of thoſe, who grow up ſlowly and by degrees, ſome are attack'd on this ſide, others on that; whence many have wither'd away about the Tribunal, before ever they came to flouriſh. But when, as they ſay of *Ladas*,

1. He would have one behave himſelf ſo vertuouſly at his *Entrance*, that his Ill-willers ſhould be conſtrained to make him away.

*The Sound o'th' Bar * yet ratled in (his Ear,*
When Ladas *having finiſht his Carreir,*
Was crown'd ——

* From whence they ſet forth to run.

Any one ſuddenly and glorioufly performs an Embaſſey, triumphs, or leads forth an Army, neither the Envious, nor the Diſdainful, have like Power over them, [as over others.] Thus did *Aratus* aſcend to Glory, making the Overthrow of the Tyrant *Nicocles* his firſt ſtep to the Management of the Common-weal: Thus did *Alcibiades*, ſetling the Alliance with the *Mantineans* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. *Pompey* alſo required a Triumph, being not yet admitted into the Senate, and when *Sylla* oppos'd it, he ſaid to him, *More adore the riſing, than the ſetting Sun*; which when *Sylla* heard, he yielded to him. And the People of *Rome* on a ſudden, contrary to the ordinary Courſe of the Law, declar'd *Cornelius Scipio* Conſul, when he ſtood Candidate for the Ædileſhip, not from any vulgar Beginning, but admiring the Victory, he had got, whilſt he was yet but a Youth, in a ſingle Combat, fought in *Spain*, and his Gueſts a little after, perform'd at *Carthage*, when he was a Tribune [or Colonel] of Foot, in reſpect of which, *Cato* the Elder cry'd out with a loud Voice;

He only's Wife, the reſt like Shadows fly.

2. Let him conſider, that there is every where work enough cut out for Men of Courage.

Now then, ſince the Affairs of the Cities have neither Wars to be manag'd, Tyrannies to be overthrown, nor Leagues and Alliances to be treated, what can any one undertake for the Beginning of an illuſtrious and ſplendid Government? There are yet left publick Cauſes and Embaſſies to the Emperor, which require the Courage and Prudence of an acute and cautious Perſon; There are alſo in the Cities many good [and laudable Uſages] neglected, which being reſtor'd, and many ill Practices, brought in by Cuſtom, to the Diſgrace or Damage of the City, which being redreſs'd may gain him the Eſteem of the People. Moreover, a great Suit rightly determin'd, Fedelity in defending a poor Man's Cauſe againſt a powerful Adverſary, and Freedom of Speech in behalf of Juſtice to ſome unjuſt Nobleman, have afforded ſome a glorious Entrance into the Adminiſtration of the State. Not a few alſo have been advanc'd by Enmity [and Quarrels,] having ſet themſelves to attack ſuch Men, whoſe Dignity was either envy'd or terrible. For the Power of him, that is overthrown, does with greater Glory accrue to his Overthrower. Indeed thro' Envy to contend againſt a good Man, and one that has by Vertue been advanc'd to the chief-eſt Honour, as *Simmias* did againſt *Pericles*, *Alcmeon* againſt *Themiſtocles*, *Clodius* againſt *Pompey*, and *Meneclides* the Orator againſt *Epaminondas*, is neither good for ones Reputation, nor otherwiſe advantagious. For when the Multitude, having outrag'd ſome good Man, ſoon after, as it [frequently] happens, repent of their Indignation, they think that way of excuſing this Offence the eaſieſt, which is indeed the juſteſt, to wit, the deſtroying of him, who was the Perſuader and Author of it. But the riſing up to hunt and pull down a wicked Perſon, who

3. One muſt not make ones Entrance by ſetting ones ſelf to degrade the good, but only the Wicked.

who has by his Audaciouſneſs and Cunning, ſubjected the City to himſelf (ſuch as heretofore *Cleon* and *Clitophon* were in *Athens*) makes a glorious Entrance to the Management of publick Affairs, as it were to a Play. I am not ignorant alſo, that ſome, by oppoſing, as *Ephialtes* did at *Athens* and *Phormio* amongſt the *Eleans*, an imperious and oligarchical Senate have at the ſame time obtain'd both Authority and Honour; but in this there is great Danger to him, who is but entring upon the Adminiſtration of State. Wherefore *Solon* took a better Beginning; for the City of *Athens* being divided into three parts, the *Diacrians* [or Inhabitants of the Hill] the *Pedieans* [or Dwellers in the Plain] and the *Paralians* [or thoſe whoſe Abode was by the Water ſide] he, joyning himſelf with none of them, but being indifferent to them all, and ſaying and doing all things, for to bring them to Concord was choſen the Law giver, to take away their Differences, and by that means ſetled the State.

4. He ſhews, how we muſt take heed of ſtumbling, as 'tis ſaid, at the Threſhold.

VII. *The ſecond manner of entring upon the Management of publick Affairs, concerning which he propoſes many advertiſements.*

Such, then, and ſo many Beginnings has the more ſplendid way of entring upon State Affairs: But many gallant Men have choſen the ſafe and ſlow Method, as *Ariſtides*, *Phocion*, *Pammenes* the *Theban*, *Lucullus* in *Rome*, *Cato* and *Ageſilaus* the *Lacedæmonian*. * For as Ivy, twining about the ſtrongeſt Trees, riſes up together with them; ſo every one of theſe, applying himſelf, whilſt he was yet young and inglorious, to ſome elder and illuſtrious Perſonage, and growing up and increaſing by little and little under his Authority, grounded and rooted himſelf in the Common-weal: For *Caliſthenes* advanc'd *Ariſtides*, *Cabrias* preferred *Phocion*, *Sylla* promoted *Lucullus*, *Maximus* raiſed *Cato*, *Pammenes* forwarded *Epaminondas*, and *Lyſander* aſſiſted *Ageſilaus*. But this laſt, injuring his

* 1. That one muſt advance under the Authority of thoſe, that are more reſpected in the State.

his own Reputation through an unſeaſonable Ambition and Jealouſie, ſoon threw off the Director of his Actions; but the reſt honeſtly, politically, and to end, venerated and magnify'd [the Authors of] their Advancement; as the Bodies, which are oppos'd to the Sun, do by reflecting back the Light, that ſhines upon them, augment it, and render it more illuſtrious. Certainly thoſe, who lookt aſquint upon *Scipio*, call'd him the Player [or Actor,] and his Companion *Lælius*, the Author of his Actions; yet was not *Lælius* pufft up by any of theſe things, but continu'd to promote the Vertue and Glory of *Scipio*. And *Ajranius*, the Friend of *Pompey*, though he was very meanly deſcended, yet being at the very point to be choſen Conſul, when [he underſtood, that] *Pompey* favor'd others, gave over his Suit, ſaying, that his obtaining the Conſulſhip would not be ſo honourable, as grievous and troubleſome to him, if it were againſt the good Will, and without the aſſiſtance of *Pompey*. Having therefore delay'd but one year, he hath enjoy'd the Dignity, and preſerv'd his Friendſhip. Now thoſe who are thus by others led, as it were by the Hand, to Glory, do, in gratifying one, at the ſame time alſo gratifie the Multitude, and incur leſs *Odium*, if any inconvenience befalls them. Wherefore alſo *Philip* [King of *Macedon*] exhorted [his Son] *Alexander*, whilſt he had leiſure during the Reign of another, to get himſelf Friends, winning their Love by kind and affable Behaviour. Now he that begins to enter upon the Adminiſtration of State-Affairs, ſhould chooſe himſelf a Guide, who is not only a Man of Credit and Authority, but is alſo ſuch for his Vertue. For as 'tis not every Tree, that will admit and bear the Twining of a Vine, there being ſome, which utterly choak and ſpoil its Growth; ſo in States, thoſe, who are not lovers of [Vertue and] Goodneſs, but only of Honour and Soveraignty, afford not young [Beginners any] Opportunities

2. That one muſt keep the Friendſhip of thoſe who are in repute.

3 That the moſt Vertuous is to be followed, and the Danger of keeping Company with the Ambitious.

tunities of [performing worthy] Actions, but do through Envy keep them down, and let them languiſh, [whom they regard, as] depriving them of their Glory, which is, as it were, their Food. Thus *Marius*, having firſt in *Africk*, and afterwards in *Galatia*, done many gallant Exploits by [the Aſſiſtance of] *Sylla*, forbare [any farther] to employ him, and [utterly] caſt him off, being indeed vext at his growing [into repute] but making his Pretence [the Device, engraven on] his Seal. For *Sylla* being *Quæſtor* [or Pay-maſter] under *Marius*, when he was *Prætor*, [or General] in *Africk*, and ſent by him to *Bacchus*, brought with him *Jugurtha* Priſoner; but as he was an ambitious young Man, who had but juſt taſted [the Sweetneſs of] Glory, he receiv'd not his good Fortune with Moderation; but having caus'd the Repreſentation of the Action to be engraven on his Seal, wore about him *Jugurtha* deliver'd into his Hands; and this did *Marius* lay to his Charge, when he turn'd him off. But *Sylla*, paſſing over to *Catullus* and *Metellus*, who were good Men, and at difference with *Marius*, ſoon after in a Civil War drove away and ruin'd *Marius*, who wanted but little of overthrowing *Rome*. *Sylla* indeed [on the contrary] advanc'd *Pompey* from a very Youth, riſing up to him, and uncovering his Head, as he paſſed by, and not only giving other young Men Occaſions of doing Captain-like Actions, but even inſtigating ſome, that were backward [and unwilling,] He fill'd the Armies with Emulation and Deſire of Honour; and thus he had the Superiority over them all, deſiring not to be alone, but the firſt and greateſt amongſt many great ones. Theſe therefore are the Men, to whom young Stateſmen ought to adhere, and with theſe they ſhould be [as it were] incorporated, not ſtealing from them their Glory, like *Æſop*'s Wren, which, being carry'd up to the Eagles Wings, ſuddenly flew away, and got before her; but receiving it of them with Friendſhip and good Will, ſince they can never, as *Plato* ſays, be able to govern aright, if they have not been firſt well practis'd in Obedience.

After

VIII. *What Friends a Stateſman ought to chooſe.*

After this, follows the Judgment, that is to be had in the Choice of Friends, in which neither the Opinion of *Themiſtocles*, nor that of *Cleon*, is to be approv'd. For *Cleon*, when he firſt knew, that he was to take on him the Government, aſſembling his Friends together, brake off Friendſhip with them, as that, which often diſables the Mind, and withdraws it from its juſt and upright Intention in managing the Affairs of the State. But he would have done better, if he had caſt out of his Soul Avarice and Contention, and cleans'd himſelf from Envy and Malice. For Cities want not Men, that are Friendleſs and unaccompany'd, but ſuch as are good and temperate. Now he indeed drove away his Friends; but an hundred Heads of fawning Flatterers were, as the *Comedian* ſpeaks, licking about him; and being harſh and ſevere to thoſe, that were civil, he again debas'd himſelf to court the Favor of the Multitude, doing all things to humor them, and taking Rewards at every Mans Hand, and joyning himſelf with the worſt and moſt diſtemper'd of the People againſt the beſt. But *Themiſtocles* on the contrary ſaid to one, who told him, that he would govern well, if he exhibited himſelf alike to all: *May I never ſit on that Throne, on which my Friends ſhall not have more* [*Power*] *with me, than thoſe, who are not my Friends.* Neither did he well in promiſing the State to his Friendſhip, and ſubmitting the common and publick Affairs ſo his private Favors and Affections. And yet he ſaid to *Simonides*, when he requeſted ſomewhat, that was not juſt: *Neither is he a good Poet* [*or Muſician,*] *who ſings againſt Meaſure; nor he an upright Magiſtrate, who gratifies* [*any one*] *againſt the Laws.* For it would really be a ſhameful and miſerable thing, that the Pilot ſhould chooſe Mariners, and the Maſter of the Ship a Pilot,

1. He ought not to ſhun his Friends and be familiar with Flatterers.

2. He muſt not for the ſake of his Friends derogate from the Authority of the Laws.

Who well can rule the Helm, and in good guiſe
Hoiſe up the Sails, when Winds begin to riſe;

and that an Architect [or Maſter Builder] ſhould make choice of ſuch Servants and Workmen, as will not prejudice his Work, but take pains in the beſt manner [to forward him in the Accompliſhment of it;] and that a Stateſman, who, as *Pindar* has it,

The beſt of Artiſts, and chief Workman is,
Of Equity and Juſtice, ——

ſhould not preſently chooſe himſelf like affected Friends and Miniſters, and ſuch, as might co-inſpire into him a Love of Honeſty, but that one or other ſhould be always unjuſtly and violently bending him to other Uſes. For he will be ſeen to differ in nothing from a Carpenter or Maſon, who through Ignorance and want of Experience uſes ſuch Squares, Rules and Levels, as will certainly make his Work to be awry.

3. He muſt not let them abuſe his Friendſhip to the committing Diſorders in the State.

For Friends are the living and intelligent Inſtruments of Stateſmen, who ought to be ſo far from bearing them company in their Slips and Tranſgreſſions, that they muſt be careful, they do not, even unknown to them, commit a Fault. For this it was, that both diſgrac'd *Solon*, and brought him into diſ-repute amongſt his Citizens; for he, having an Intention to eaſe Mens Debts, and to bring in [that, which was call'd at *Athens*] the *Seiſachtheia* (for that was the Name given by way of Extenuation to the cancelling of Debts) communicated this Deſign to ſome of his Friends, who thereupon did a moſt unjuſt Act; for having got this Inkling, they borrow'd abundance of Money, and the Law being a little after brought to light, they appear'd to have purchaſed ſtately Houſes, and great ſtore of Land with the Wealth they had borrow'd; and *Solon*, who was himſelf injur'd, was accus'd to have been partaker of their Injuſtice. *Ageſilaus* alſo was moſt feeble and mean-ſpirited in what concern'd the Suits of his Friends, being like the Horſe *Pegaſus* in *Euripides*.

Several Examples to this purpoſe.

Who

Who, frighted, bow'd his Back, more than his Rider would.

So that being more ready to help them in their Misfortunes, than was requiſite, he ſeem'd to be privy to their Injuſtices. For he ſav'd *Phœbidas*, who was condemn'd for having without Commiſſion ſurpriz'd the Caſtle of *Thebes*, call *Cadmeia*, ſaying, that ſuch Enterprizes were to be attempted without expecting any Orders. And when *Sphodrias* fled from Judgment for an unlawful and heinous Act, having made an Incurſion into *Attica*, at ſuch time as the *Athenians* were Allies and Confederates of the *Spartans*, he procur'd him to be acquitted, being ſoftned by the amorous Entreaties of his Son. There is alſo recorded a ſhort Epiſtle of his written in theſe Words. *If* Nicias *is innocent, diſcharge him; if he is guilty, diſcharge him for my Sake; but however it is, diſcharge him.* But *Phocion* [on the contrary] would not ſo much as appear in behalf of his Son-in-Law *Charillus*, when he was accus'd for having taken Money of *Harpalus*; but having ſaid, *In all juſt things I have made you my Ally*, went his way. And *Timoleon* the *Corinthian*, when he could not by Admonitions or Requeſts diſſwade his Brother from being a Tyrant, confederated with his Deſtroyers. For a Magiſtrate ought not to be a Friend [on this Condition only, that it be] even to the Altar or till he comes to the point of being forſworn, as *Pericles* ſometime ſaid; but [that it be no farther than is agreeable] to all Law, Juſtice and the Utility of the State; any of which being neglected, brings a great and publick Dammage, as did the not executing of Juſtice on *Sphodrias* and *Phœbidas*, who did not a little contribute to the engaging of *Sparta* in the *Leuctrian* War.

4. He muſt after the Example of *Phocion* and others prefer the Preſervation of the Laws and his Country to any particular Perſon whatever.

IX. *How a States-man ought to behave himſelf towards his Friends.*

Otherwiſe Reaſon of State is ſo far from neceſſitating one to ſhow himſelf ſevere on every [*Peccadillo* or] ſlight Offence of his Friends, that

that it even permits him, when he has ſecur'd the Principal Affairs of the Publick to aſſiſt them, ſtand by them, and labor for them. There are moreover certain Favors, that may be done without Envy, as is the helping a Friend to obtain an Office, or rather the putting into his Hands ſome honourable Commiſſion, [or the employing him in] ſome plauſible Embaſſy, ſuch as in the Congratulating or Honoring ſome Prince, or the making a League of Amity and Alliance with ſome State. But if there is ſome difficult, but withal illuſtrious and great Action to be perform'd, having firſt taken it upon himſelf, he may afterwards aſſume a Friend to his Aſſiſtance, as did *Diomedes* whom *Homer* makes to ſpeak in this manner:

1. He may favour them, after he has ſecur'd the Publick, and how far this favor is to extend.

Since a Companion you will have me take,
How can I think a better Choice to make,
Than the Divine Ulyſſes?—— Iliad. 1. 7.

And *Ulyſſes* again as kindly attributes to him, the Praiſe of the Atchivement, ſaying:

Theſe ſtately Steeds, whoſe Countrey you demand,
Neſtor, *were hither brought from* Thracian *Land,*
Whoſe King, with twelve of his beſt Friends, lies dead,
All ſlain by th' Hand of warlike Diomed:

For this ſort of Conceſſion no leſs adorns the Praiſer than the Prais'd, but Self-conceitedneſs, as *Plato* ſays, dwells with Solitude, [being hated and abandon'd by every one.] He ought moreover to aſſociate his Friends in thoſe good and kind Offices, [which are done by him,] bidding thoſe, whom he has benefitted to love them, and give them thanks, as having been the Procurers and Counſellers [of his Favors to them.] But he muſt reject the diſhoneſt and unreaſonable Requeſt of his Friends, yet not churliſhly, but mildly, teaching and ſhewing them, that they are not

2. He ought to aſſociate his Friends in his Favors.

3. To deny them mildly, when they make any unfiting Requeſt.

beſeeming

beſeeming their Vertue and Honor. Never was any Man better, at this, than *Epaminondas*, who, having deny'd to deliver out of Priſon a certain Victualler, when requeſted by *Pelopidas*, and yet a little after diſmiſſing him at the Deſire of his Miſs, ſaid to his Friend, *theſe O* Pelopidas, *are Favors, fit for Wenches to receive, and not for Generals.* *Cato* on the other ſide acted morofely and inſolently, who, when * *Catullus* the *Cenſor*, his moſt intimate and familiar Friend, interceded with him for one of thoſe, againſt whom he, being *Quæſtor*, had entred Proceſs, ſaid; *'Tis a ſhame that you, who ought to reform us young Men, ſhould be thruſt out by our Servants.* For he might, tho' in effect refuſing the requeſted Favor, have yet forborn that Severity and Bitterneſs of Speech, ſo that his doing, what was diſpleaſing to his Friend, might have ſeem'd not to have proceeded from his own Inclination, but to have been a Neceſſity, impos'd upon him by Law and Juſtice.

* A Magiſtrate in *Rome*, whoſe Office it was to regulate the Behaviour and Expences of the Citizens.

4. To help them grow rich and how.

There are alſo in the Adminiſtration of the State Methods, not diſhonorable, of aſſiſting our poorer Friends in the making of their Fortune. Thus did *Themiſtocles*, who ſeeing after a Battle one of thoſe, which lay dead in the Field, adorn'd with Chains of Gold and Jewels did himſelf paſs by him, but turning back to a Friend of his, ſaid: *Do you take theſe Spoils, for you are not yet come to be* Themiſtocles. For even the Affairs themſelves do frequently afford a Stateſman ſuch Opportunities of benefiting his Friends; for every Man is not a *Menemachus*. To one therefore give the Patronage of a Cauſe, both juſt and beneficial; to another recommend ſome rich Man, who ſtands in need of Management and Protection; and help a third to be employ'd in ſome publick Work, or to ſome gainful and profitable Farm. *Epaminondas* bade a Friend of his go to a certain rich Man, and ask him for a Talent, to be given him at the Command of *Epaminondas*, and when he, to whom the Meſſage was ſent, came to enquire the Reaſon of it; *Becauſe*, ſaid *Epaminondas*, *he is a very honeſt Man and poor, and you, by converting much of the Cities Wealth to your own Uſe, are becom*

become rich. And *Xenophon* reports, that *Ageſilaus* delighted in enriching his Friends, himſelf making no account of Money.

X. *How a Stateſmen ought to behave himſelf towards his Enemies.*

Now ſince, as *Simonides* ſays, all Larks muſt have a Creſt, and every eminent Office in a common weal brings Enmities and Diſſentions, 'tis not a little convenient for a Stateſmen to be forwarn'd alſo of [his Comportment in] theſe Rancounters. Many therefore commend *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides*, who, when they were to go forth on any Embaſſy, or to command together the Army laid down their Emnity at the Confines of the City, taking it up again after their Return. Some again are highly pleas'd with the Action of *Cretinas* the *Magneſian*: He, having for his Adverſary [or Rival] in the Government one *Hermeas*, a Man, not powerful [and rich,] but ambitious and high-ſpirited, when the *Mithridatric* War came on, ſeeing the City in Danger, deſir'd *Hermeas*, either to take the Government upon himſelf, and manage the Affairs, whilſt he retir'd; or if he would have him take the Command of the Army, to depart himſelf immediately, leſt they ſhould thro' their ambitious Contention to deſtroy the City. The Propoſal pleas'd *Hermeas*, who ſaying, that *Cretinas* was a better Souldier than himſelf, did with his Wife and Children quit the City. *Cretinas* then ſent him forth before, furniſhing him out of his own Eſtate with all ſuch things, as are more uſeful to thoſe, that fly from Home, than to thoſe, that are beſieg'd, and excellently defending the City, unexpectedly preſerv'd it, being at the Point to be deſtroy'd. For if 'tis generous, and proceeding from a magnanimous Spirit, to cry out:

1 When the Service of the Publick is in queſtion, he muſt lay aſide his particular Concerns.

I love my Children, but my Country more,

Why ſhould it not be readier for every one of them to ſay, *I hate this Man, and deſire to do him a Diskindneſs, but the Love of my Country has great Power over me?* For not

not to condeſcend to be reconcil'd to an Enemy for thoſe very Cauſes, for which we ought to abandon even a Friend, is even to extremity ſavage and brutiſh. But far better did thoſe about *Phocion* and *Cato*, who grounded not any Enmity at all on their political Differences, but being fierce and obſtinate only in their publick Conteſts, not to recede from any thing, [they judg'd] convenient for the State, did in their private Affairs uſe thoſe very Perſons friendly and courteouſly, from whom they differ'd in the other. For one ought not to eſteem any Citizen, an Enemy unleſs it be ſuch an one, as is like *Ariſton*, *Nabis*, or *Catilin*, the Diſeaſe and Plague of the City: but as for thoſe, that are otherwiſe at Diſcord, [a good Magiſtrate ſhould,] like a skilful Muſician, by gently ſetting them up, or letting them down, bring them to Concord, not falling angrily and reproachfully upon thoſe, that err, but mildly [reprehending them in ſuch like Terms,] as [theſe of] *Homers*;

2. But 'tis incomparably better, not to hate any one for ones own particular Intereſt, but only to be an Enemy to thoſe, that would prejudice the Publick.

Good Friend, I thought you wiſer than the reſt,

And Again,

You could have told a better Tale than this;

nor yet repining at their Honors, of ſparing to ſpeak freely in Commendation of their good Actions, if they ſay or do any thing advantagious [to the Publick.] For thus will our Reprehenſion, when it is requiſit, be credited, and we ſhall render them averſe to Vice, increaſing their Vertue, and ſhewing, by comparing them, how much the one is more worthy and beſeeming them than the other. But I indeed am alſo of Opinion, that a Stateſman ſhould in juſt Cauſes give Teſtimony to his Enemies, ſtand by them, when they are accus'd by Sycophants, and diſcredit Imputations brought againſt them, if they are repugnant

3. He ought to Praiſe them in juſt things and even uphold them, if they are calumniated.

nant to their Inclinations, as *Nero* himſelf, a little before he put to Death *Thraſeas*, whom of all Men he both moſt hated and fear'd, when one accus'd him for giving a wrong and unjuſt Sentence, ſaid; *I wiſh*, Thraſeas *were but as great a Lover of me, as he is a moſt upright Judge.* Neither is it amiſs for the Daunting of others, who are by Nature more inclin'd to Vice, when they offend, to make mention of ſome Enemy of theirs, who is better behav'd, and ſay, *Such an one would not have ſpoken or acted thus.* And ſome again, when they tranſgreſs, are to be put in mind of their vertuous Progenitors. Thus *Homer* ſays;

‖ Tydeus *has Left a Son unlike him-ſelf.* ‖ Iliad. l. 5. Examples.

And *Appius*, contending in the *Comitia* with *Scipio Africanus*, ſaid, *How deeply*, O Paulus [Æmilius,] *would'ſt thou ſigh amongſt the infernal Shades, were thou but ſenſible that* Philonicus *the Publican guards thy Son, who is going to ſtand for the Office of Cenſor.* For ſuch manner of Speeches do both admoniſh the Offender, and become their Admoniſhers. *Neſtor* alſo in *Sophocles*, being reproach'd by *Ajax*, thus politickly anſwers him:

I blame you not, for you act well, altho'
You ſpeak but ill —— ——

And *Cato*, who had oppos'd *Pompey* in his joyning with *Cæſar* to force the City, when they fell to open Wars, gave his Opinion, that the Conduct of the State ſhould be committed to *Pompey*, ſaying; That thoſe, who are capable to do the greateſt miſchiefs, are fitteſt to put a ſtop to them.

4. How one may blame them.

For Reprehenſion, mixt with Praiſe, and accompany'd not with Opprorbiouſneſs, but Liberty of Speech; nor working Animoſity, but Remorſe and Repentance, appears both kind and ſalutary; but railing Expreſſion, do not at all beſeem Stateſmen [or Men of Honour:] Do but look into the Speeches of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Æſchines*, and of *Æſchines*, againſt him; and again into what *Hyperides* has written againſt *Demedas*, and conſider whether

Solon

Solon, *Pericles*, *Lycurgus* the *Lacædemonian* or *Pittacus* the *Lesbian*, would have ſpoken in that manner; and yet *Demoſthenes* us'd this reproachful manner of Speaking only in his juridical Orations or Pleadings: For his *Philiphicks* are clean [and free] from all Scoffing and Scurrility. For ſuch Diſcourſes do not only more diſgrace the Speakers, than the Hearers, [or thoſe againſt whom they are ſpoken;] but do moreover breed Confuſion in affairs, and diſturb Councels and Aſſemblies. Wherefore *Phocian* did excellently well, who, having broken off his Speech, to give way to one, that rail'd againſt him, when the other with much ado held his Peace, going on again, where he had left off, ſaid, *You, have already heard what has been ſpoken of Horſemen and heavy arm'd Foot; I am now to treat of ſuch as are light arm'd and Traguetiers.* But ſince many Perſons can hardly contain themſelves on ſuch occaſions, and ſince Railers have often their Mouths not impertinently ſtopt by Replies; let the Anſwer be ſhort and pithy, not ſhewing any Indignation or Bitterneſs of Anger, but Mildneſs joyn'd with Raillery and Gracefulneſs, yet ſomewhat [tart and] biting. Now ſuch eſpecially are the Retortings of what has been ſpoken before. For as Darts, returning againſt their Caſter, ſeem to have been repuls'd and beaten back by a certain ſtrength and Solidity in him, [or that,] againſt which they were thrown; ſo what was ſpoken, ſeems by the Strength and Underſtanding of the Reproach, to have been turn'd back upon the Reproacher. Such was that Reply of *Epaminondas* to *Calliſtratus*, who upbraided the *Thebans* with *OEdipus*, and the *Argives* with *Oreſtes*, one of which had kill'd his Father, and the other his Mother: *Yet they, who did theſe things, being rejected by us, were receiv'd by you.* Such alſo was the Repartee of *Antalcides* the *Spartan* to an *Athenian*, who ſaid to him, *We have often* [*driven you back and purſu'd*

5. What manner of Replies one may be permitted to make them.

Remarkable Examples.

[*purſu'd you from* [*the River*] Cephiſus; *but we*, [reply'd *Antalcides*,] *never* [*yet purſu'd*] *you from the River* Eurotas. *Phocion* alſo, when *Demades* cry'd out, *The* Athenians, *if they grow mad, will kill thee*; elegantly reply'd, *And thee, if they come again to their Wits.* So when *Domitius* ſaid to *Craſſus* the Orator, *Did not you weep for the Death of the Lamprey you kept in your Fiſh-pond? Did not you*, ſaid *Creſſius* to him again, *bury three Wives without ever ſhedding a Tear?* Theſe things therefore have indeed their Uſe alſo through all the reſt of a Mans Life.

XI. *He now treats, whether a Stateſman ought to concern himſelf in all publick Affairs; and reſolves, that he ought to manage only what is of greateſt Importance.*

Moreover ſome, like *Cato*, thruſt themſelves into every Part of Policy, [or every kind of publick Office,] thinking a good Citizen ſhould not omit any Care or Induſtry for [the obtaining] Authority. And theſe Men greatly commend *Epaminondas*; for that being by the *Thebans* through Envy, and in Contempt, appointed *Telearch*, he did not reject it, but ſaying, *That the Office does not only ſhew the Man, but the Man alſo the Office.* He brought the *Telearchate* into great and venerable Repute, which was before nothing but a certain Charge [or Overſeeing] of the carrying the Dung out of the narrow Streets [and Lanes of the City,] and turning of Water Courſes. [Nor do I doubt, but that] I my ſelf alſo afford matter of Laughter to many, who come into this our City, being frequently ſeen in publick employ'd about ſuch Matters. But that comes into my Aſſiſtance, which is related of *Antiſthenes*; for when one wonder'd to ſee him carry a piece of Stockfiſh thro' the Market, *'Tis for my ſelf*, ſaid he. But I on the contrary ſay to thoſe, who upbraid me for being preſent at [and overſeeing] the Meaſuring [and counting] of Tiles, or the bringing in [and unloading] of Chalk and Stones: *'Tis not for my ſelf, but for my Country, that I* * *perform this Service.* For tho' he, who in his own Perſon manages and

* For οἰκοδομεῖν, I read ἀκονομεῖν.

does

does many ſuch things for himſelf, may be judg'd mean ſpirited and mechanical; yet if he does them for the Publick, and for his Country, he is not to be deem'd ſordid; but on the Contrary, his Diligence and Readineſs, [extending] even to theſe ſmall Matters, is [to be eſteem'd] greater, and more highly valu'd. But others there are, that hold *Pericles*'s Manner of acting to have been more magnanimous and auguſt; amongſt which *Critolaus* the Peripatetick, who is of Opinion, that, as at *Athens* the *Salaminian* Ship, and the *Peralus*, were not launcht forth for every Service, but [only] on neceſſary and great Occaſions; ſo a Stateſman ought to employ himſelf in the chiefeſt and greateſt Affairs, like the King of the Univerſe, who, as *Euripides* ſays;

1. Becauſe 'tis more auguſt.

Reſerves great things for his own Government,
But ſmall things leaves to Fortunes Management.

For neither do we approve the exceſſively ambitious and contentious Spirit of *Theagenes*, who, having not only obtain'd the Victory thro' a whole Courſe of Exerciſes, but alſo in many other Conteſts, and not only in Wreſtling, but in Buffetting, and Running of long Races; at laſt, being at the Anniverſary Feſtival Supper of a certain Hero, after every one [was ſerv'd, or] had his Portion ſet him, according to the Cuſtom, he ſtarted up, and fell to Wreſtling, as if 'twere neceſſary, no other ſhould conquer, when he was preſent; whence he got together twelve hundred Coronets, moſt of which one would have taken for Rubbiſh. Now [little or] nothing do they differ from him, who ſtrip themſelves for every publick Affairs, but render themſelves reprehenſible by many, becoming troubleſom, and being, when they do well, the Subject of Envy, and when ill, of Rejoycing. And that Induſtry, which was at the beginning admir'd, turns afterwards to Contempt and Laughter

2. Becauſe the contrary renders one ſuſpected of Ambition and Vain-Glory.

Laughter. In this manner it was ſaid; *Metiochus* leads forth the Army, *Metiochus* overſees the High-Ways, *Metiochus* bakes the Bread, *Metiochus* bolts the Meal, *Metiochus* does all things, *Metiochus* ſhall bear the Misfortune. This [*Metiochus*] was a Follower of *Pericles*, and made uſe, it ſeems, of the Power, he had with him, invidiouſly and diſdainfully. For a Stateſman ought to come to a People, that is, as they ſay, in love with him, and leave in them a Longing after him, when he is abſent; which Courſe *Scipio Africanus* alſo took, dwelling a long time in the Countrey, at the ſame time both removing from himſelf the Burthen of Envy, and giving thoſe leiſure to breathe, who ſeem'd to be oppreſs'd by his Glory. But *Timeſias* the *Clazomenian*, who was otherwiſe a good Common-wealth-man, was ignorant of his being envy'd, and hated for doing all things by himſelf, till the following Accident befel him. It hapned, that as he paſs'd by, where certain Boys were ſtriking a Cockall-Bone out of an Hole, ſome of them ſaid, that the Bone was ſtill left within; but he, who had ſtriken it, cry'd out, *I wiſh, I had as certainly beaten out* Timeſias's *Brains, as this Bone is out of the Hole. Timeſias*, hearing this, and thereby underſtanding the Envy [and Spight,] born him by every one, return'd Home, where he imparted the Matter to his Wife, and having commanded her to pack up all, and follow him, immediately left both his Houſe and the City. And *Themiſtocles* ſeems to have been in ſome ſuch Condition amongſt the *Athenians*, when he ſaid; *How is it, O ye bleſſed ones, that you are tir'd with the frequent receiving of Benefits*? Now ſome of thoſe things have indeed been rightly ſpoken, others not ſo well. For a Stateſman ought not to withdraw his Affection and providential Care from any publick Affair whatever, but in that reſpect apply himſelf, like the ſacred Anchor in a Ship, for the laſt Neceſſities and Hazards of

3. Becauſe it makes one odious and ridiculous.

4. Becauſe he ought to ſhun the ill Will of others, whether Great or Little.

the State. But as the Maſters of Ships do ſome *things* with their own *Hands* and perform others, fitting afar off, by other Inſtruments, turning and winding them by the hands of others, and making uſe of Mariners, Boatſwains and Mates, ſome of which they often call to the Stern, putting the Helm into their Hands; ſo 'tis convenient for a Stateſman, ſometimes to yield the Command to his Companions, and to invite them kindly and civilly to the Tribunal, not managing all the Affairs of the Common-weal by his own Speeches, Decrees and Actions, but that having good and faithful Men, he may employ every one of them in that proper and peculiar Station, which he finds to be moſt ſuitable for him. Thus *Pericles* us'd *Menippus* for the Conduct of the Armies, by *Ephialtes* he humbled the Councel of the *Areopagus*, by *Charinus* he paſs'd the Law againſt the *Megarians*, and ſent *Lampon* to People the City of the *Thurii*. For the Greatneſs of Authority is not only leſs liable to be envy'd by the People when it ſeems to be divided amongſt many; but the Buſineſs is alſo more exactly done. For as the Diviſion of the Hand into Fingers has not weakned it, but render'd it more commodious and inſtrumental for the Uſes, to which it ſerves; ſo he, who in the Adminiſtration of a State gives part of the Affairs to others, renders the Action more efficacious by communicating it. But he, who thro' an unſatiable Deſire of Glory or Power lays the whole [Burthen of the] State upon his own Shoulders, and applies himſelf to that, for which he is neither fitted by Nature nor Exerciſe, as *Cleon* did to the leading forth of Armies, *Philopœmen* to the Commanding of Navies, and *Annibal* to Haranguing the People, has no Excuſe for his Errors; but hears that of *Euripides* objected againſt him,

5. That ſhewing himſelf a Lover of the Publick Good, he muſt not imagine himſelf to be able to manage every thing, but muſt, as do the Maſters of Ships, make uſe of others.

6. That by this means publick Affairs are better regulated.

Thou, but a Carpenter, concern'dſt thy ſelf
With Works, not wrought in Wood:

Being

Being no good Orator, you went on an Embaſſage; being of a lazy Temper, you thruſt your ſelf into the Stewardſhip; being ignorant in keeping Accounts, you would be Treaſurer; or being old and infirm, you took on you the Command of the Army. But *Pericles* divided his Authority with *Cimon*, reſerving to himſelf the Governing within the City, and committing to him the Manning of the Navy, and making War upon the *Barbarians*; for the other was naturally fitter for War, and himſelf for Civil Affairs. *Eubulus* alſo the *Anaphlyſtian* is much commended, that having Credit and Authority in Matters of the greateſt Importance, he manag'd none of the *Grecian* Affairs, nor betook himſelf to the Conducting of the Army; but employing himſelf about the Treaſure, he augmented the publick Revenues, and greatly benefited the City by them. But *Iphicrates*, practiſing to make Declamations at his own Houſe in the preſence of many, rendred himſelf ridiculous; for though he had been no bad Orator, but an excellently good one, yet ought he to have contented himſelf with the Glory, got by Arms, and abſtaining from the School, to have left it to the Sophiſters.

7. That 'tis a great Shame and Folly to think on doing many things himſelf alone, ſince he often finds enough to do in performing one, as he ought.

But ſince 'tis incident to every Populacy to be malicious, and deſirous to find fault with their Governors, and ſince they [are apt to] ſuſpect, that many, even uſeful things, if they paſs without being oppos'd or contradicted, are done by Conſpiracy, and ſince this principally brings Societies and Friendſhips into Obloquy; they muſt not indeed leave any real Enmity or Diſſention againſt themſelves, as did *Onomademus*, a Demagogue of the *Chians*, who, having maſter'd a Sedition, ſuffer'd not all his Adverſaries to be expell'd the City: *Leſt*, ſaid he, *we ſhould begin to differ with our Friends, when we are wholly freed*

XII. *Of the Prudence, a Statesman ought to be furniſht with for obviating Calumnies, and procuring, what is for the Publick Good, to be receiv'd by the People, yea, even by his very Enemies.*

from our Enemies; for this would be indeed a Folly But when the Multitude ſhall have conceiv'd a Suſpicion againſt any important and beneficial Project, they muſt not, as if it were by Confederacy, all deliver the ſame Opinion; but two or three of them muſt diſſent, and mildly oppoſe their Friend, and afterwards, as if they were convinc'd by Reaſon, change their Sentiment; for by this means they draw along with them the People, who think them mov'd by the Beneficialneſs of the thing. But in ſmall Matters, and ſuch, as are of no great Conſequence, 'tis not amiſs to ſuffer his Friends really to differ, every one following his own private Reaſon; that ſo in the principal and greateſt Concerns they may not ſeem to act upon Deſign, when they ſhall unanimouſly agree, to what is beſt.

XIII. *That he ought not to hunt after all Offices, but only accept of thoſe, to which he is lawfully call'd, and how he ought to behave himſelf as well in great as little Employs.*

The Politician therefore is by Nature always the Prince of the City, as the King among the Bees: And in conſideration of this, he ought always to have the Helm of publick Affairs in his Hand; but as for thoſe Dignities and Offices, to which Perſons are nominated and choſen by the Suffrages of the People, he ſhould neither too eagerly, nor often purſue them, the ſeeking after Offices being neither venerable nor popular, nor yet ſhould he reject them, when the People legally confer them on him, and invite him to them; but even, though they are below his Reputation, to accept them, and willingly imploy himſelf in them; for 'tis but juſt, that they, who have been honour'd by Offices of greater Dignity, ſhould in return grace thoſe of inferior Rank. And in thoſe more weighty and ſuperior Employs, ſuch as are the Commanding of the Armies in *Athens*, the *Prytaneia* in *Rhodes*, and the *Bœotarchy* amongſt us, he ſhould carry himſelf with ſuch Moderation, as to remit and abate ſomething of their Grandeur, adding ſomewhat of Dignity and Venerableneſs to thoſe, that are meaner and leſs eſteem'd, that he may be neither deſpis'd for theſe, nor envy'd for thoſe.

Now

Now it behoves him that enters upon any Office, not only to have at hand thoſe Arguments, of which *Pericles* put himſelf in mind, when he firſt receiv'd the Robe of State: *Bethink thy ſelf*, Pericles, *thou Govern'ſt Free-men, thou Govern'ſt* Greeians, *yea Citizens of* Athens; but farther alſo he ought to ſay thus with himſelf: *Thou, being a Subject, govern'ſt a City, which is under the Obedience of* Cæſars *Proconſul, or Lieutenant. Theſe are not the Plains of the Lance, this is not the ancient* Sardis, *nor is this the Puiſſance of the* Lydians. *Thou muſt make thy Robe ſcantier, look from the Pavilion to the Tribunal, and not place too great Confidence in thy Crown, ſince thou ſeeſt Shooes over thy Head.* But in this the Stage-Players are to be imitated, who added indeed to the Play their own paſſionate Tranſports, Behaviour and Countenance, ſuitable [to the Perſon, they repreſent,] but yet give ear to the Prompter, and tranſgreſs not the Rythms and Meaſures of the Eaculty granted them by their Maſters. For an Error [in Government] brings not [as in the acting of a Tragedy, only] Hiſſing and Deriſion; but many have by this means, ſubjected themſelves to that

XIV. *On what they ought to reflect, who intermeddle in publick Affairs.*

1. By not doing this men endanger their Lives,

Severe Chaſtiſer, the Neck cutting Ax.

As it befel thoſe, who were about our * Countrey-man *Pardalus*, when they forgot their * Oaths. Another being confin'd to a [certain Deſart] Iſland, became, as *Solon* has it,

At laſt from baniſht Athenian,
A Pholegandrian *or* Sicinitan.

For we laugh indeed, when we ſee little Children endeavouring to faſten their Fathers Shooes on their own Feet, or ſet their Crowns on their Heads in ſport. But the Governors of Cities fooliſhly exhorting the People to imitate thoſe Works, At-

* For ὑμετερον, I read ἡμέτερον * For ὄρων, I read ὅρκων.

2. Or at leaſt render themſelves contemtible and ridiculous.

chievments,

chievments, and Actions of their Anceſtors, which are not ſuitable to the preſent Times and Affairs, elevate the Multitude, and doing things, that are ridiculous, ſuffer not however, what is fit to be laugh'd at, unleſs they are Men altogether deſpis'd. For there are many other Facts of the ancient *Greeks*, the Recital of which to thoſe, who are now living, may ſerve to form and moderate their Manners; as would be the Relating at *Athens*, not the warlike [Exploits of their Progenitors,] but, for Example, the Decree of Amneſty [or general Pardon and Oblivion,] after the [Expulſion of the] thirty [Tyrants;] the Fining of *Phrynicus*, who repreſented in a Tragedy the Taking of *Miletus*; how they wore Garlands on their Heads, when *Caſſander* rebuilt *Thebes*, that having Intelligence of the *Scytaliſm*, [or Slaughter] at *Argos*, in which the *Argives* put to death fifteen hundred of their own Citizens, they commanded a Luſtration [or expiatory Sacrifice] to be carry'd about in a full Aſſembly; and that ſearching of Houſes for thoſe, that were confederated with *Harpalus*, they paſs'd by only one, which was inhabited by a Man newly marry'd. For by the imitating of ſuch things, as theſe, they may even now reſemble their Anceſtors; but [the Fights at] *Marathon*, *Eurymedon* and *Platea*, and whatever Examples vainly puff up and heighten the Multitude, ſhould be left to the Schools of the Sophiſters.

XV. *That he muſt keep Friendſhip with other Lords, of whoſe good Will he may ſtand in need; and refer all to the publick Profit.*

Now a Stateſman ought not only to exhibit himſelf and his Country blameleſs with the Prince, but alſo to have always for his Friend, ſome one of thoſe that are moſt powerful above, as a firm ſupport of Policy; for the *Romans* are of ſuch a Diſpoſition, that they are moſt ready to [aſſiſt] their Friends in their political Endeavours. 'Tis good alſo to produce [the Examples of] thoſe, which have * receiv'd Benefit from their Friendſhip with Princes, as did *Polybius* and *Panætius*,

* I omit ἐκ, and for λαμόντας, read λαμβάνοντας.

tius, who thro the Favour of *Scipio* to them, greatly advantag'd their Countries for [the obtaining] Felicity. So *Cæſar*, when he had taken *Alexandria*, made his Entry into it, holding *Areias* by the Hand, and diſcourſing with him alone of all his Familiars, after which, *Auguſtus* ſaid to the *Alexandrians*, who, expecting the utmoſt Severity, ſupplicated his Favour, that he pardon'd them for the Greatneſs of their City, for its Builder, *Alexander*; *and thirdly*, added he, *to gratifie this my Friend.* Is it then fit to compare to this Benefit thoſe exceeding gainful Commiſſions and Adminiſtrations of Provinces, in the purſuit of which many even grow old at other Mens Doors, leaving their own Domeſtick Affairs in the mean time unregarded? Or ſhould we not rather correct *Euripides*, ſinging and ſaying, that, if one muſt watch and lie at anothers Court, and ſubject ones ſelf to ſome great Mans Familiarity, 'tis moſt commendable ſo to do for the Sake of ones Countrey; but otherwiſe, to embrace and purſue Friendſhips on equal and juſt Conditions.

XVI. *He ought to take heed, leſt by ſeeking the Friendſhip of Princes, he bring his Country into Slavery.*

Yet ought not he, who renders and exhibits his Country obſequious to potent Princes, to contribute to the oppreſſing of it, nor having ty'd its Leg, to ſubject alſo its Neck, as ſome do, who, referring all things, both great and little of theſe Potenates, upbraid it with Servitude, or rather wholly take away the Commonwealth, rendring it aſtoniſht, timorous, and without Command of any thing For as thoſe, who are accuſtom'd neither to Sup nor Bath without the Phyſician, do not make ſo much uſe of their Health, as Nature affords them; ſo they, who introduce the Princes Judgment into every Decree, Council, Favour and Adminiſtration, neceſſitate the Princes to be more Maſters of them, than they deſire. Now the Cauſe of this is principally the Avarice and Ambition of the chief Citizens; for either by injuring their Inferiors, they compel them to fly out of the City; or in ſuch things, wherein they differ from one another, diſdaining to be

be worſted by their Fellow Citizens, they bring in ſuch, as are more powerful; whence both the Council, People, Courts of Judicature, and whole Magiſtracy, loſe their Authority. But he ought to appeaſe private Citizens by Equality, and mightier Men by mutual Submiſſions, ſo to keep within the Common-weal, and there determin Affairs; making for theſe things, as it were for ſecret Diſeaſes, a certain Political Medicine, both being himſelf rather willing to be vanquiſht amongſt his Fellow Citizens, than to get the better by the Injury and Diſſolution of his Countries Rights, and requeſting the ſame of every one elſe, and teaching them, how great a Miſchief this Obſtinacy in contending is. But now, rather than they will with Honour and Benignity mutually yield to their Fellow Citizens, Kinſmen, Neighbours and Colleagues in Office, they do with no leſs Prejudice than Shame, carry forth their Diſſentions to the Doors of the Pleaders, and put] them into] the Hands of pragmatical Lawyers.

XVII. *If there is any Diſeaſe in the State, he ought to conceal it and cure it within.*

Phyſicians indeed turn and drive forth into the *Superficies* of the Body ſuch Diſeaſes, as they are not able utterly to extirpate; but a Stateſman, if he cannot keep a City altogether free from Diſquiet, ſhall, concealing its Diſturbance and Sedition, endeavour to cure and compoſe it, ſo as it may leaſt ſtand in need of Phyſicians and Medicines from abroad. For the Intention of a Stateſman ſhould be fixt upon the the Publick Safety, and ſhun, as has been ſaid, the tumultuous and furious Motion of Vain-glory; and yet in his Diſpoſition there ſhould be Magnanimity;

1. Remedies from without are dangerous.

* Iliad. c. 1.

* *And an undaunted Courage, as becomes*
The Men, who are for their dear Countreys Right
Prepar'd to Death 'gainſt ſtouteſt Foes to fight,

and [bravely reſolve, not only to hazard their Lives againſt the Aſſaults of invading Enemies, but alſo] to ſtruggle with the moſt difficult Affairs, and [ſtem the Torrent

Torrent of] the moſt dangerous and impetuous times. For as he muſt not himſelf be a Creator of Storms and Tempeſts, ſo neither muſt he abandon the Ship of the State, when they come upon it, and, as he ought not to raiſe Commotions, and drive it into Danger; ſo is he oblig'd, when it is toſs'd and is in peril, to give it his utmoſt Aſſiſtance, caſting forth from himſelf Freedom of Speech, as it were with a ſacred Anchor, when Affairs are at the greateſt Extremity. Such were the Difficulties, that befel the *Pergamenians* under *Nero*, and the *Rhodians* lately under *Domitian*, and the *Theſſalians* heretofore in the time of *Auguſtus*, when they burnt *Petræus* alive.

2. He muſt then act and ſpeak freely.

You ſhall not in this Caſe demurring ſee,

or ſtarting back for fear any one, who is truly a Stateſman, neither [ſhall you find him] accuſing others, and withdrawing himſelf out of Harms way; but [you ſhall have him rather,] going on Embaſſies, ſailing [to forreign Parts,] and ſaying firſt, not only,

We're here Apollo, *who the Murther wrought,*
No longer plague our Country for our Fault;

but alſo ready to undergo Perils and Dangers for the Multitude, even tho' he has not been at all partaker of their Crime. For this indeed is a gallant Action, and beſides its Honeſty, one only Mans Virtue and Magnanimity has often wonderfully mitigated the Anger, conceiv'd againſt a whole Multitude, and diſſipated the Terror and Bitterneſs, with which they were threatned. Such an Influence with a King of *Perſia* had the Deportment of *Sperchies* and *Bulis*, to noble *Spartans*, and equally prevalent was the Speech of *Stheno* with *Pompey*, when being about to puniſh the *Mamertines* for their Defection, he was told by *Stheno*, that he would not act juſtly, if he ſhould for one guilty Perſon deſtroy abundance of Innocents; for that he himſelf had caus'd the Revolt of the City by perſwading

3. A Stateſman ſhould not deſire to over-live his Countreys Ruin.

ſwading his Friends, and forcing his Enemies, [to that Attempt.] This Speech did ſo diſpoſe *Pompey*, that he both pardon'd the City, and courteouſly treated *Stheno*. But *Sylla*'s Hoſt, having uſed the like Vertue towards an unlike Perſon, generouſly ended his Days. For when *Sylla*, having taken the City of *Preneſte*, determin'd to put all the reſt of the Inhabitants to the Sword, and to ſpare only him for the Hoſpitality, [that had been between them,] he, ſaying, that he would not be indebted for his Preſervation to the Deſtroyer of his Countrey, thruſt himſelf in amongſt his Fellow Citizens, and was maſſacred with them.

XVIII. *How he, that manages State-Affairs, is to converſe with his Companions.*

We ought therefore indeed to deprecate ſuch times, as theſe, and hope for better things; and ſhould honor, as a great and ſacred thing, every Magiſtracy and Magiſtrate, Now the mutual Concord and Friendſhip of Magiſtrates with one another is a far greater Honor of Magiſtracy than their Diadems, and Purple garbed Robes. Now thoſe, who lay for a Foundation of Friendſhip their having been Fellow-Souldiers, or having ſpent their Youth together, and take their being joint Commanders, or Co-Magiſtrates for a Cauſe of Enmity, cannot avoid [being guilty of] one of theſe three Evils. For either regarding their Colleagues in Government, as their Equals, they brangle with them, or looking on them, as their Superiors, they envy them, or eſteeming them their Inferiors, they deſpiſe them; whereas indeed one ought to court his Superior, advance his Inferior, honour his Equal, and love and embrace all as having been made Friends, not by [eating at the ſame] Table, [drinking in the ſame] Cup, or [meeting at the ſame ſolemn] Feaſt, but by a common and publick Bond, and having in ſome ſort an hereditary Benevolence, deriv'd from their Country. *Scipio* therefore was ill-ſpoken of in *Rome*, for that making a Feaſt for his Friends, at the Dedication of a Temple to *Hercules*, he invited not to it his Colleague *Mummius*; for tho' in other things they took not one another for Friends, yet in ſuch [Occurrence

currences, as theſe,] they ſhould have [mutually] honor'd and careſs'd each other for the ſake of [their common] Magiſtracy. If then the Omiſſion of ſo ſmall a Civility brought *Scipio*, who was otherwiſe an admirable Man, under a Suſpicion of Arrogancy; how can he, who ſeeks to impair the Dignity of his Coleague, or to obfuſcate the Luſtre of his Actions, or thro' Inſolency to draw and attribute all things to himſelf, taking them [wholly] from his Companion, he eſteem'd reaſonable and moderate? I remember, that, when I was yet but a young Man, being joyntly with another ſent on an Embaſſy to the *Proconſul*, and my Companion, I know not on what Occaſion, ſtopping by the way, I went on alone, and perform'd the Affair. Now when at my return I was to render an account of my Charge, my Father, riſing up privately, admoniſht me not to ſay, *I went*, but *We went*, nor *I ſpeak*, but *We ſpeak*, and ſo thro' all the reſt to make my Report by aſſociating my Companion, and rendring him a Sharer in my Actions. For this is not only decent and courteous, but alſo takes from Glory, what is offenſive, that is, Envy. Whence [it is that] great [Men generally] co-aſcribe their moſt glorious Actions to their *Dæmon* or *Fortune*, as did *Timoleon*, who having deſtroy'd the Tyrannies [erected] in *Sicily*, conſecrated a Temple to *Chance*, and *Python*, when, being admir'd and honor'd by the *Athenians*, for having ſlain *Cotys*, he ſaid, *God did this, making uſe of my Hand.* But *Theopompus*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, when one ſaid that *Sparta* was preſerv'd, becauſe its Kings were well skill'd in governing, reply'd: *'Tis rather becauſe the People are well vers'd in obeying.*

‖ Theſe two things then are affected by each other; yet moſt Men both ſay and think, that the Buſineſs of Political Inſtruction is to render the People pliable to be govern'd. For there are in every City more govern'd than Governors, and every one, who lives in a Demo-

‖ XIX. *Having commended thoſe, who behave themſelves modeſtly in their publick Offices, he takes occaſion from the Anſwer of King* Theopompus *to diſcourſe on the Art of Government; ſhewing, wherein it conſiſts, to wit, in teaching all to obey well, and ſubject themſelves to him, who commands.*

cracy,

cracy, rules only a ſhort time, but is ſubject all his Life, ſo that 'tis the moſt excellent and uſeful Leſſon, [we can learn;] to obey thoſe, who are ſet over us, tho' they are leſs furniſht with Authority and Reputation.

For 'tis abſurd, that a *Theodorus* or a *Polus*, the Principal Actor in a Tragedy, ſhould often obey an hir'd Player, whoſe Part has not above three Words in it, and ſpeak humbly to him, becauſe he wears a Diadem and a Scepter; and that in real Actions, and in the Government of the State, a rich and mighty Man ſhould undervalue and contemn a Magiſtrate, [becauſe] ſimple and poor, injuring thus, and degrading the Dignity of the Common-weal by his own; whereas he ſhould rather by his Reputation and Authority have increas'd and advanc'd that of the Magiſtrate; As in *Sparta* the Kings 'roſe up out of their Thrones to the *Ephori*, and whoever elſe were ſent for by them, did not ſlowly obey, but running haſtily, and with ſpeed thro' the *Forum*, gave a Pattern of Obedience to their Fellow Citizens, whilſt they glory'd in honouring the Magiſtrates; not like to ſome ill-bred and barbarous Perſons, who, priding themſelves in the abundance of their Power, affront the Judges of the publick Combats, revile the Directors of the Dances in the *Bacchanals*, and deride military Commanders, and thoſe, that preſide over the Exerciſes of Youth; neither knowing nor underſtanding, that to honour, is ſometime more glorious than to be honor'd. For to a Man great Authority in a City his accompanying and attending on the Magiſtrate is a greater Grace, than if he were himſelf accompany'd and attended on by him; or rather this indeed brings Trouble and Envy; but that real Glory, and ſuch, as proceeds from [Kindneſs and] Good-will. And [ſuch a Man,] being ſeen ſometimes at the Magiſtrates Door, and ſaluting him firſt, and giving him the middle Place [or upper hand] in walking, does without taking any thing from himſelf, add Ornament to the City. 'Tis alſo a popular thing, [and wins greatly on the Multitude,] to bear [patiently] the Reproaches and Indignation of a Magiſtrate, ſaying either with *Diomedes*,

* *Great*

* *Great Glory ſoon will follow this*; —— * Iliad. I. 4

or this, [which one ſometime ſaid] of *Demoſthenes*, but a Lawgiver, or a Director of publick Dances or a wearer of a Diadem; let us therefore lay aſide our Revenge for a time. For either we ſhall come upon him, when he is diſmiſs'd from his Office, or ſhall by delaying gain a Ceſſation of Anger.

XX. *He conſequently treats of the Duty of good Subjects in a regulated State, and how they ought to help their Magiſtrates, and profit the Publick.*

Indeed one ſhould in Diligence, Providence and Care for the Publick, always ſtrive with every Magiſtrate, adviſing them, if they are gracious and well behav'd of ſuch things as are requiſite, and telling them, and giving them [Opportunities to put in practice, or] to make uſe of ſuch things, as have been rightly counſelled, and helping them to advance the common Good; but if there is in them any Sloth, Delay, or ill-Diſpoſedneſs to Action, then ought one to go himſelf and ſpeak to the People, and not to neglect or omit the Publick, on pretence, that it becomes not one Magiſtrate to be curious, and play the Buſy-body in anothers Province. For the Law always gives the firſt Rank in Government to him, who does what is juſt, and knows what is convenient. *There was*, ſays *Xenophon*, *one in the Army, who was neither General, nor inferior Commander, but who by his Skill in what was fit, and Boldneſs in attempting, raiſing himſelf to command, preſerv'd the* Grecians. Now of all *Philopœmens* Gueſts this is the moſt illuſtrious, that, *Agis* having ſurpriz'd *Meſſena*, and the General of the *Achaians* being unwilling, and fearful to go and reſcue it, he, with ſome of the forwardeſt Spirits, did, without [expecting] a Commiſſion, make an Aſſault and recover it. Yet are not Innovations to be attempted on every light or trivial Occaſion; but either in Caſes of Neceſſity, as did *Philopœmen*, or for the performance of ſome honourable Actions as did *Epaminon-*

1 Becauſe the general Law authoriſes him who does what is juſt.

2. Yet on condition that no Novelty be attempted, unleſs in Caſes of neceſſity or great importance.

das, when he continu'd in the *Bœotarchy* * four Months longer than was allow'd by the Law, during which he brake into *Laconia*, and perform'd the Actions about *Meſſena*. Whence, if any Complaint or Accuſation ſhall on this Occaſion happen, we may in our Defence againſt ſuch Accuſation, plead Neceſſity, or have the Greatneſs and Gallantry of the Action, as a Comfort for the Danger, [we have been expos'd to.]

* The Office of chief Magiſtrate among the *Bœotians*.

XXI. *He returns to his Diſcourſe, and commending* Jaſons *Tyrannical Saying, ſhews, in what things a Magiſtrate may gratifie his People.*

There is recorded a ſaying of *Jaſon*, Monarch of the *Theſſalians*, which he always had in his Mouth, when he outrag'd or moleſted any, that there is a Neceſſity for thoſe to be unjuſt in ſmall Matters, who will act juſtly in great ones. Now that Speech one may preſently diſcern to be a maſterly one, [proceeding from him, who would arrogate all Power to himſelf.] But more political is this Precept, to gratify the Populacy with the paſſing over ſmall things, that we may oppoſe and hinder them, when they are like to offend in greater. For he that will be exact and earneſt in all things, never yielding or conniving, but always ſevere and inexorable, accuſtoms the People to ſtrive obſtinately, and behave themſelves perverſly towards him.

But when the Waves beat high, the Helm ſhould be
A little ſlackned,

1 By accommodating himſelf to little People, when the publick Intereſt is not concern'd,

Sometimes by unbending himſelf, and ſporting graciouſly with them, as in the [celebrating of Feſtival] Sacrifices, [aſſiſting at publick] Games, and [being a Spectator on the] Theatres, and ſometimes by ſeeming neither to ſee nor hear, as we paſs by the Faults of ſuch Children in our Houſes; that the Faculty of freely chaſtiſing and reprehending, being like a Medicine, not antiquated or debilitated by uſe, but having its full

Vigor

Vigor and Authority, may more forcibly move and operate on the Multitude in matters of greater Importance. *Alexander*, being inform'd, that his Sister was too familiarly acquainted with a certain handsome young Man, was not displeas'd at it, but said, that she also must be permitted to have some Enjoyment of the Royalty; acting in such his Concession neither rightly, nor as beseem'd himself; for the Dissolution and dishonouring of the State ought not to be esteem'd an Enjoyment. But a [good] Statesman will not to his Power permit the People to injure [any private] Citizens, to confiscate [unjustly] other Mens Estates, or to share the publick Stock amongst them, but will by perswading, instructing and threatning, oppugn such irregular Desires, by the feeding and increasing of which, those, who were about *Cleon*, caus'd many a stinging Drone, as *Plato* says, to breed in the City. But if the Multitude, taking occasion from some [solemn] Feast of the Countrey, or the Veneration of some God, shall be inclin'd, either to exhibit some Shew, to make some small Distribution, to bestow some courteous Gratification, or to perform some other Magnificence, let them in such Matters have an Enjoyment both of their Liberality and abundance. For there are many [Examples of] such things in the Governments of *Pericles* and *Demetrius*: And *Cimon* adorn'd the Market-place by painting Rows of Plane-Trees, and making of Walks. *Cato* also, seeing the Popularcy in the Time of *Catilines* Conspiracy put in a Commotion by *Cæsar*, and dangerously inclin'd to [make] a Change in the Government, perswaded the Senate to decree some Distributions of Money amongst the Poor, and this, being done, appeas'd the Tumult, and quieted the Sedition. * For, as a Physician, having taken [from his Patient] great store of corrupt Blood; gives [him] a little innocent Nourishment; so a Statesman, having taken [from the People] some great thing, which was either inglorious or prejudicial, does again by some small and courteous

2. By withdrawing them discreetly and with Sweetness from some great Danger. A fit Similitude.

Gratuity ſtill their moroſe and complaining Humor. 'Tis not amiſs alſo dextrouſly to transfer, what is deſir'd by the People, to other uſeful things, as *Demades* did, when he had the Revenues of the City under his Management: For they, being bent to ſend Gallies to the Aſſiſtance of thoſe, who were in Rebellion againſt *Alexander*, and commanding him to furniſh out Money for that purpoſe, he ſaid to them; *You have Money ready, for I have made Proviſion againſt the* Bacchanals, *that every one of you might receive half a Mna; but if you had rather have it employ'd this way, make uſe, as you pleaſe, of your own.* And by this means taking them off from ſending the Fleet, leſt they ſhould be depriv'd of the Dividend, he kept the People from offending *Alexander*. For there are many prejudicial things, to which one cannot directly put a Stop, but muſt for that end make uſe of turning and winding; As did *Phocion*, when he was requir'd at an unſeaſonable time to make an Incurſion into *Bœotia*. For he immediately caus'd Proclamation to be made, that all from * fourteen years of Age to ſixty, ſhould [prepare to] follow him, and when there aroſe upon it a Mutiny amongſt the old Men, he ſaid, *There is no Hardſhip put upon you, for I, who am above fourſcore years old, ſhall be your General.* In this manner alſo is the ſending of Ambaſſies to be put off, by joyning in the Commiſſion, ſuch as are unprepar'd, and the raiſing of unprofitable Buildings, by biding them contribute to it, and the following of undecent Suits, by ordering the Proſecutors to appear together, and go together from the Court. Now the Propoſers and Inciters [of the People] to ſuch things are firſt to be drawn and Aſſociated for the doing of them; for ſo they will, either by their ſhifting it off, ſeem to break the Matter, [themſelves had propos'd;] or by their accepting of it, have their Share in the Trouble.

* Ἀγένειος from their Puberty.

XXII. *With what Perſons the Magiſtrate ought to be accompany'd in executing Affairs of Conſequence.*

But when ſome great and uſeful Matter, yet ſuch as requires much Strugling and Induſtry, is to be taken in hand, endeavour to chooſe the moſt powerful of your Friends, or [rather] the mildeſt of the moſt Powerfulfor they will leaſt thwart you,and moſt co-operate with you, having Wiſdom without a contentious Humor. Nevertheleſs, throughly underſtanding your own Nature, you ought in that, for which you are naturally leſs fit, rather to make choice of ſuch, as are of ſuitable Abilities, than of ſuch, as are like your ſelf; As *Diomedes*, when he went [forth] to ſpy, paſſing by the Valiant, took [for his Companion] one, that was prudent [and cautious.] For thus are Actions better counterpois'd, and there is no Contention bred betwixt them, when they deſire Honor from different Vertues and Qualities. If therefore you are your ſelf no good Speaker,chooſe for your Aſſiſtant on the Bench, or your Companion in an Embaſſy, an eloquent Man, as *Pilopidas* did *Epaminondas*; if you are unfit to perſwade and converſe with the Multitude, being too high minded for it, as was *Callicratidas*, take one that is gracious and courtly; if you are infirm of Body, and unable to undergo Fatigues, make choice of one who is robuſt, and a Lover of Labor, as *Nicias* did of *Lamachus*. For thus did *Geryon* become admirable, having many Legs, Hands and Eyes, which were all govern'd by one Soul. But it is in the Power of Stateſmen by conferring together, if they are unanimous, not only their Bodies and Wealth, but alſo their Fortunes, Authorities and Vertue, to one [common] uſe, to perform the ſame Action with greater Glory than any other Perſon; nor as did the *Argonauts*, who having left *Hercules*, were neceſſitated to have recourſe to Female Subtilties, and be ſubject to Enchantments and Sorceries, that they might ſave themſelves, and ſteal away the Fleece

XXIII. *Of what Vices a Magiſtrate ought to beware.* 1. Of Avarice.

Men indeed entring into ſome Temples, leave their Gold without; but Iron, that I may ſpeak in a Word, they never carry into any. Since then the *Tribunal* is a Temple, common to *Jupiter* the Counſellor, and Protector of Cities, to *Themis* or Enquity, and *Dice* or Juſtice, form the very Beginning, before thou entreſt into it, ſtripping my Soul of Avarice, and the Love of Wealth, caſt them into the Shops of Bankers and Uſurers.

——— *And from them turn thy ſelf,*

eſteeming him, who heaps up Treaſures by [the Management of] public Affairs, to rob the Temples, [plunder] Graves, and [ſteal] from his Friends, [and enriching himſelf] by Treachery, and bearing of falſe Witneſs, to be an unfaithful Counſellor: a perjur'd Judge, a Bribe-taking Magiſtrate, and in brief, free from no Injuſtice. Whence 'tis not neceſſary to ſay much concerning this Matter. Now Ambition, tho' it is more ſpecious than Covetouſneſs, brings yet no leſs Plagues into a State. For it is [uſually] more accompany'd with Boldneſs, as being bred, not in ſlothful and abject Spirits, but chiefly in ſuch, as are vigorous and active; and the Vogue of the People, frequently extolling it, and driving it by their Praiſes, renders it thereby headſtrong, and hard to be manag'd As therefore *Plato* adviſ'd, that we ſhould even from their Infancy inculcate into young People, that 'tis not fit for them to wear Gold about them abroad, nor yet to be Poſſeſſors of it, as having a peculiar [Treaſure] of their own, immixt with their Souls, ænigmatically, as I conceive, inſinuating the Vertue, propagated in their Natures from the Race [or Stock, of which they are deſcended;] ſo let us alſo moderate our Ambition, by ſaying, that we have in our ſelves uncorrupted Gold, [that is,] Honour unmixt [or ſincere,] and free from Envy and Reprehenſion, which is ſtill augmented by the Diſcourſe and Contemplation of our

2. Of Ambition.

A Remedy againſt Ambition.

our Acts and Guests in the ervice in the Common-weal; Wherefore we ſtand not in need of Honours painted, [carv'd,] caſt, or engraven in Braſs, in which, what is moſt admir'd, frequently belongs to another. For [the Statue of] a Trumpeter or Halbardier is not commended [or eſteem'd] for [the Sake of the Perſon,] whom it is made [to repreſent,] but [of the Workman,] by whom it is made. And *Cato* when *Rome* was in a manner fill'd with Statues, would not ſuffer his to be erected, ſaying, *I had rather, Men ſhould ask, why my Statue is not ſet up, than why it is.* For ſuch things are ſubject to Envy, and the People think themſelves oblig'd to thoſe, who have not receiv'd them, whereas thoſe, who have receiv'd them, are (eſteem'd) burthenſom, as ſeeking (publick) Employs for a Reward; For as he does no great or glorious Act, who having without danger ſail'd along the (Gulf) *Syrtis*, is afterwards caſt away in the Harbor: ſo he, who having kept himſelf ſafe in paſſing thro' the Treaſury, and the (Management of the) publick Revenues, is caught with a Preſidency, or a Place in the ‖ *Pritaneum*, daſhes indeed againſt an high Promontory, but is likewiſe drown'd. He then is beſt, who deſires none of theſe things, but ſhuns and refuſes them all. But if perhaps it is not eaſie wholly to decline a Favor or Teſtimonial of the Peoples Amity, when they are fully bent to beſtow it, as on thoſe, who have in the Service of the State contended not for Silver or Preſents, but have fought a Fight truly ſacred, and deſerving a Crown, let an Inſcription, a Tablet, a Decree, or a Branch (of Lawrel or Olive) ſuffice, ſuch as *Epimenides* receiv'd out of the *Acropolis* (or Caſtle of *Athens*) for having purify'd the City. So *Anaxagoras*, putting back the other Honors, that were given him, deſir'd, that on the Day of his Death, the Children might have leave to Play and intermit their Studies; and to the ſeven *Perſians*, who [illegible] the *Magi*, 'twas granted, that they and their [illegible]erity ſhould wear their *Tiara*, or Turbant on the

‖ A Place in the Caſtle of *Athens*, where thoſe who had done the State any ſingular Service, had their Diet at the Cities Coſt, which was an extraordinary Honour.

Fore-part of the Herd; for this it ſeems, they had made the Signal, when they went about that Attempt. The Honor alſo, which *Pittacus* receiv'd, had ſomething political; for being bid to take what Portion he would of the Land he had gotten for his Citizens, he accepted as much, as he could reach with the Caſt of his Dart; So *Cocles* the *Roman*, took as much, as he himſelf, being lame, could plow in a Day. For the Honor ſhould not be a Recompence of the Action, but an Acknowledgment, that it may continue alſo long, as thoſe did, which we have mention'd. But of the three hundred Statues, erected to *Demetrius Phalereus*, not one was eaten into by Luſt, or cover'd with Filth, they being all pull'd down, whilſt himſelf was yet alive; and thoſe of *Demades* were melted into [Cloſe-ſtool-pans and] Chamber-pots. Many other Honors alſo have undergone the like Fate, being regarded with an ill Eye, not only for the Wickedneſs of the Receiver, but alſo for the Greatneſs of the Gift. A Moderation in the Expence is therefore the beſt and ſureſt Preſervative of Honors; for ſuch as are great, immenſe and pondrous, are like to unproportion'd Statues, ſoon overthrown.

XXIV. *A Statesman ſhould not deſpiſe Glory or true Honor; and how he is to govern himſelf in that Reſpect.*

Now I here call thoſe Honors, which the People,

Whoſe Right it is, ſo name; with them I ſpeak;

as *Empedocles* has it; ſince a wiſe Stateſman will not deſpiſe true Honor and Favor, conſiſting in the good Will and [friendly] Diſpoſition of thoſe, who [gratefully] remember [his Services] nor will he contemn Glory by ſhunning to pleaſe his Neighbours, as *Democritus* would have him. For neither is the Fawning of Dogs, nor the Affection of Horſes to be rejected by Huntſmen and Jockeys, nay, it is both profitable and pleaſant to breed in thoſe Animals, which are brought up in our Houſes, and live with us, ſuch a Diſpoſition towards ones ſelf, as *Lyſimachus*'s Dog ſhew'd to his Maſter, and as the * Poet relates *Achilles*'s Horſes to [illegible]

had towards *Pratocles*. And I am of Opinion, that Bees would fare better, if they would make much of thoſe who breed them, and look after them, and admit them to come near 'em, than they do by ſtinging them, and driving them away; for now they puniſh them, by ſmothering them with Smoak; but tame unruly Horſes with ſhort Bits; and Dogs that are apt to run away, by collaring them, and faſtning them to Clogs. But there is nothing which renders one Man ſo obſequious and ſubmiſſive to another, as the Confidence of his good Will, and the Opinion of his Integrity and Juſtice: Wherefore *Demoſthenes* rightly affirm'd, that the greateſt Preſervative of States againſt Tyrants, is Diſtruſt. For the Part of the Soul, by which we believe, is moſt apt to be caught. As therefore *Caſſandra*'s Gift of Prophecy was of no Advantage to the Citizens of *Troy*, who would not believe her.

† *The God* (ſhe ſays) *would have me (to foretel*
Things unbeliev'd; for when the People well
Have ſmarted, groaning under Preſ- (ſures ſad,
They ſtile me wiſe, till then they think (me mad.

† *Apollo*, who render'd her Prophecies unbelieved, becauſe ſhe refus'd him the Enjoyment, ſhe had promiſed him, when he beſtowed on her the Gift of Prophecy.

So the Confidence the Citizens had in *Archytas*, and their good Will towards *Battus*, were highly advantagious to thoſe, who would make uſe of them, thro' the [good] Opinion, they had of them.

VII. *The two principal Advantages, in which a Magiſtrate may glory, and by which he ought to think himſelf honor'd, are, That the People confide in him; and that they love him, and wiſh him well.*

Now the firſt greateſt Benefit, which is in the Reputation of Statesmen, is the Confidence, [that is had in them,] giving them an Entrance into Affairs; and the ſecond is, that good Will of the Multitude is an Armour to the good, againſt thoſe that are envious and wicked; for,

[illegible] the careful Mother drives the Flies
From her dear Babe, which ſweetly ſleeping lies,

it chaſes away Envy, and renders the Plebeian equal in Authority to the Noble Man, the Poor Man to the Rich, and the private Man to the Magiſtrates; and in a Word, when Truth and Vertue are joyn'd with it, 'tis a ſtrange and favourable Wind, [directly carrying Men] into Government. And [on the other ſide] behold and learn by Examples the miſchievous Effects of the contrary Diſpoſition. For thoſe of *Italy* ſlew the Wife and Children of *Dionyſius*, having firſt violated and polluted them with their Luſts, and afterwards burning their Bodies, ſcatter'd the Aſhes out of a Ship into the Sea. But when one *Menander*, who had reign'd graciouſly over the *Bactrians*, dy'd afterwards in the Camp, the Cities indeed by common Conſent celebrated his Funeral; but coming to a Conteſt about his Relicks, they were difficultly at laſt brought to this Agreement, that his Aſhes being diſtributed, every one of them ſhould carry away an equal Share, and they ſhould all erect Monuments to him. Again, the *Agrigentines*, being got rid of *Phalaris*, made a Decree, that none ſhould wear a blue Garment; for the Tyrants Attendants had blue Liveries. But the *Perſians*, becauſe *Cyrus* was Hawk-nos'd, do to this Day love ſuch Men, and eſteem them handſomeſt. That is of all Loves the ſtrongeſt and divineſt, which is by Cities and States born to any Man for his Vertue. But thoſe falſe-nam'd Honors, and falſe Teſtimonials of Amity, which have their Riſe from Stage-plays, Largeſſes and Fencings, are not unlike the Flatteries of Whores, the People always with Smiles beſtowing an unconſtant and ſhort-liv'd Glory on him, that preſents them, and gratifies them.

Examples ſhewing how prejudicial the ill will of the People is to a Governor; and on the contrary, how ſerviceable their Amity.

On what this good *Will* is to be grounded.

XXVI. *Of the Magiſtrates Largeſſes to the People, and how they ought to be regulated.*

He therefore, who firſt ſaid, the People were overthrown by him, which firſt beſtow'd Largeſſes on them, very well underſtood, that the Multitude loſe their Strength

being render'd weaker by receiving. But theſe Beſtowers muſt alſo know, that they deſtroy themſelves, when purchaſing Glory at great Expences, they make the Multitude haughty and arrogant, as having it in their Power to give and take away ſome very great Matter. Yet are we not therefore to act ſordidly in the Diſtribution of Honorary Preſents, when there is Plenty enough. For the People more hate a rich Man, who gives nothing of his own, than they do a poor Man, that robs the publick [Treaſury] attributing the former to Pride, and a Contempt of them, but the latter to Neceſſity. Firſt, therefore, let theſe Largeſſes be made gratis, for ſo they more oblige the Receivers, and ſtrike them with Admiration: Then on ſome Occaſion, that has an handſome and laudable Pretence, with the Honour of ſome God, wholly drawing the People to Devotion: For ſo there is at the ſame time bred in them a ſtrong Apprehenſion and Opinion, that the Deity is great and venerable, when they ſee thoſe, whom they honor, one highly eſteem, ſo bountifully and readily expending their Wealth upon their Honor. As therefore *Plato* forbad young Men, who were to be [liberally] educated, to learn the *Lydian* and *Phrygian* Harmony; and of, which excites the mournful and melancholy part of our Soul; whilſt the other increaſes its Inclination to Pleaſure and ſenſual Delight; ſo do you, as much as poſſibly you can, drive out of the City all ſuch Largeſſes, as either foſter and cheriſh Brutality and Savageneſs, or Scurrility and Laſciviouſneſs; and if that cannot be, at laſt ſhun them, and oppoſe the Many, when they deſire ſuch Spectacles, always making the Subjects of our Expences uſeful and modeſt, having for their End, what is good and neceſſary, or at leaſt what is pleaſant and acceptable, without any Prejudice or In-

1. Let the Magiſtrate make the Largeſs of his own, and without pretending to any Recompence. 2. For an honeſt Occaſion. 3. Without going in debt and expoſing himſelf to Deriſion.

[illegible] if your Eſtate is but indifferent, and by its [illegible]nter and Circumference confin'd to your neceſſary

nſe, 'tis neither ungenerous nor baſe to confeſs your Poverty, and give place to ſuch, as are provided for thoſe honorary Expences, and not, by taking up Money on Uſury, to render your ſelf at the ſame time both miſerable and ridiculous by ſuch Services. For they, whoſe Abilities fall ſhort, cannot well conceal themſelves, being compell'd either to be troubleſom to their Friends, or to court [and flatter] Uſurers. ſo that they get not any Honor or Power, but rather Shame and Contempt by ſuch Expences. 'Tis therefore always uſeful on ſuch Occaſions, to call to mind *Lamachus* and *Phocion*. For *Phocion*, when the *Athenians* at a ſolemn Sacrifice call'd upon him, and oft-times importun'd him to give them ſomething, ſaid to them, *I ſhould be aſham'd to give to you, and not pay this* Callicles; pointing to an Uſurer, who was ſtanding by. And as for *Lamachus* he always put down in his Bill of Charges, when he was General, the Money laid out for his Shooes and Coat. And to *Hermon*, when he refus'd the Undertaking of an Office becauſe of his Poverty, the *Theſſalians* ordain'd a Puncheon of Wine a Month, and a Buſhel and an half of Meal every four Days. 'Tis therefore no Shame to confeſs ones Poverty, nor are the Poor in Cities of leſs Authority than thoſe, who feaſt and exhibit publick Shews, if they have but gotten Freedom of Speech and Reputation by their Vertue.

Notable Examples to this purpoſe.

XXVII. *That the People muſt not be mad'd by ſuperfluous Expences but by Vertue, Prudence and Eloquence.*

A Stateſman ought therefore chiefly to moderate himſelf on ſuch Occaſions, and neither being himſelf on foot, go into the Field againſt well-mounted Cavaliers, nor being himſelf poor, vie with thoſe, that are rich, about Race matches, Theatrical Pomps and magnificent [Tables and Banquets;] but [ſhould rather ſtrive to be like] thoſe, who endeavor to mange the City by Vertue and Prudence, always joyn'd with Eloquence; in which there is not only Honeſty and Venerableneſs, but alſo a Gracefulneſs and Attract[ive]neſs.

Far more to be desir'd than Cræsus's *Wealth.*

For a good Man is neither insolent nor odious, nor is a discreet Person singularly selfconceited,

Nor with a severe look walks he amongst,
His Fellow Citizens;——

A curious Description of a Statesman, who has Honor and Duty in Recomendation.

but is [on the contrary] first courteous, affable, and of easie access to all, having his House always open, as a Port of Refuge to those, that will make use of him, and shewing his Care and Kindness, not only [by being assistant) in the Necessities and Affairs of those, that have recourse to him, but also by condoling with those, that are in Adversity, and congratulating and rejoycing with such, as have been successful; neither is he troublesome or offensive by the Multitude and Train of Domestics, attending him at Bath, or by taking up of Places on the Theatres, nor remarkable by things invidious for their Luxury and Sumptuousness; but equal and like to others in his Cloths, Diet, Education of his Children and the Garb and Attendance of his Wife, as desiring in his Comportment and Manner of Living to be like the rest of the People; then he exhibits himself an intelligent Counsellor, an unfeed Advocate and courteous Arbitrator between Men and their Wives, and Friends at variance amongst themselves; not spending a small part of the Day for the Service of the Common-weal at the Tribunal, or in the Hall of Audience, and employing all the rest, and the whole Remainder of his Life, in drawing to himself from every sort Negotiations and Affairs, as the North-east Wind, call'd *Cæcias*, does the Clouds; bet always employing his cares on the Publick, and reputing Polity [or the Administration of the State] as a busie and active Life, and not, as 'tis commonly thought, an easie and idle Service; he does by all these, and such like things, turn and draw the Many, who see that all the Flatteries and Enticements of others are but Contous and deceitful Baits, when compar'd to his Care and

and Providence. The Flatteries indeed of *Demetrius* vouchſaf'd not to give the other Potentates of his Time, amongſt whom *Alexander*'s Empire was divided,] the Title of Kings; but ſtil'd *Seleuchus* Maſter of the Elephants, *Lyſimachus* Treaſurer, *Ptolomæus* Admiral, and *Agathocles* Governor of the Iſles. But the Multitude, tho' they may at the beginning reject a good and prudent Man, yet coming afterwards to underſtand his Veracity, and [the Sincerity of his] Diſpoſition, eſteem him only to be a Stateſman, a publick ſpirited Perſon and a Magiſtrate; and of the others, they think and call one a Dancing-maſter, a ſecond a Feaſter, and a third a Maſter of the Exerciſes. Moreover, as at the Banquets made by *Callias*, or *Alcibiades*, *Socrates* only is heard, and to *Socrates* all Mens Eyes are directed; ſo in [ſound and] healthy States *Iſmenias* beſtows Largeſſes, *Lichas* makes Suppers and *Niceratus* gives Masks [or Enterludes;] but 'tis *Epaminondas*, *Ariſtides* and *Lyſander* that govern, manage the State, and lead forth the Armies. Which if any one conſiders, he ought not to be dejected or amaz'd at the Glory, gotten amongſt the People from Theatres, Banqueting-Halls and publick Buildings; ſince it laſts but a ſhort time, being at an end, as ſoon as the Prizes and Plays are over, and having in them nothing honorable, or worthy of Eſteem.

What Opinion thoſe Men incur, who in Matters of Government are guided by any other Affection, than that of the Publick.

XXVIII. *Of Seditions and Civil Wars, and how a good Magiſtrate ought to govern himſelf in them.*

Thoſe, that are verſt in the Keeping and Breeding of Bees, look on that Hive to be healthieſt and in beſt Condition, where there's moſt Humming, and which is fulleſt of Buſtle and Noiſe; but he, to whom God has committed the Care of the rational and political Hive, reputing the Felicity of the People to conſiſt chiefly in Quietneſs and Tranquility, will receive, and to his Power imitate the reſt of [illegible] Ordinances; but will doubt and wonder, what it [illegible] that

that induc'd him to decree, that he, who, when there ariſes a Sedition in the City, adheres to neither Party, ſhould be reputed infamous. For in the Body, the Beginning of its Change from Sickneſs to Health, is not wrought by the Parts, that are infected with the Diſeaſe; but when the Temperature of ſuch Parts, as are ſound, growing powerfully, drives away what is contrary to Nature; and in a State, where the People are diſturb'd by a Sedition, not dangerous and mortal, but which will after a while be [compos'd and] allay'd. 'tis of neceſſity, that there be a Mixture of much, that is uninfected and ſound, and that it continue and co-habit in it. For thither flows from the Wiſe, what is fit [and natural,] and paſſes into the Part that is diſeas'd. But when Cities are in an univerſal Commotion, they are in danger of being utterly deſtroy'd, unleſs being conſtrain'd by ſome Neceſſity and Chaſtiſement from abroad, they are by the Force of their Miſeries reduc'd to Wiſdom. Yet does it not become you in [the time of] a Sedition to ſit, as if you were neither ſenſible nor ſorry, praiſing your own Unconcernedneſs, as a quiet and happy Life, and taking delight in other Errors: But on ſuch Occaſions chiefly ſhould you put on the Buskin of *Therameneſ*, and conferring with both Parties, joyn your ſelf to neither. For you will not ſeem a Stranger by not being a Partaker in Injuſtice, but a common Friend to them all by your Aſſiſtance; nor will you be envy'd for your not ſharing in the Calamity, when you appear equally to condole with every one of them. But the beſt is by your providential Care to prevent the ariſing of any Sedition, and in this conſiſts the greateſt and moſt excellent Point, as it were, of the Political Art. For you are to conſider, that the greateſt Benefits a City can enjoyn, being Peace, Liberty, Plenty, abundance of Men and Concord, the People have at this time no need of Stateſmen

1. He ought not to joyn with one Party to ruine the other.

2. He ought to ſpeak to both Parties, without joyning with either, to help them in common, and bring them to Agreement.
3. He ought to prevent Sedition.

Stateſmen for the procuring of Peace; ſince all War, whether with *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, in wholly taken away, and baniſht from us. As for Liberty, the People have as much, as the Emperors think fit to grant them, and more perhaps would not be expedient. Now ſuch is the unenvy'd Plenty of the Earth, and the kind Temper of the Seaſons, not being ſeen by a prudent Man, as alſo,

How Wives by bringing forth like Children make
Their Husbands happy, ——

He will have nothing more to do, but to beg of the Gods the Perſervation and ſafety of what is born and produc'd to his Fellow-Citizens.

XXIX. *The laſt Inſtruction he gives to him, who manages State Affairs, is, that he procure the Continuance of Peace and Union amongſt his Fellow Citizens.*

There remains therefore to a Stateſman, of all thoſe things that are ſubject to his Charge, this alone, which is inferior to none of the other Benefits, the keeping of thoſe who are Co-inhabitants [of the ſame City,] in perpetual Concord and Friendſhip, and the taking away of all Contentions, Animoſities and Heart-burnings. In which he ſhall, as in the Differences between Friends, ſo converſe with the Party appearing to be moſt injur'd, as if he himſelf ſeem'd alſo a Sharer in the Injury, and equally offended at it, endeavouring afterwards ſo to appeaſe him, by ſhewing him, how much thoſe, who paſs by Injuries, excel ſuch as ſtrive to contend and conquer, not only in good Nature and Sweetneſs of Diſpoſition, but alſo in Prudence and Magnanimity; and that by remitting a little of their Right in ſmall Matters, they get the better in the greateſt and moſt important. He ſhall afterwards admoniſh them both in general and apart, inſtructing them in the Weakneſs of the *Grecian* Affairs which 'tis better for intelligent Men to enjoy, and to live in Peace and Concord, than to engage in a Conteſt, for which Fortune has left no Reward. For what Authority, what Glory is there remaining for the Conquerors? What Power

is there, which the leaſt Decree of a Proconſul cannot abolish or transfer elſewhere; and which tho' it ſhould continue, would not yet have any thing worth our Pains? But ſince, as a Conflagration [in a Town] does not frequently begin in ſacred and publick Places; but a Lamp [or Candle] negligently left in an Houſe, or the burning of a little Traſh or Rubbiſh, raiſes a great Fire, and works a common Miſchief: So Sedition in a State is not always kindled by Contentions about publick Affairs, but oftentimes the Differences ariſing from private Concerns and Jangles, being propagated into the Publick, have diſturb'd a whole City; 'tis no leſs becoming a Stateſman to remedy and prevent all theſe; ſo that ſome of them may never have any Being, others may be quickly extinguiſht, and others hindred from increaſe, or taking hold of the Publick, and confin'd amongſt the Adverſaries themſelves. And as himſelf ought to take care for this, ſo ſhould he advertiſe others, that private Diſturbances are the Occaſion of publick ones, and little of great ones, if they are neglected, and ſuffer'd to proceed without taking care to apply fit Remedies to them in the Beginning. In this manner is the greateſt [and moſt dangerous] Diſturbance, that ever hapned in *Delphi*, ſaid to have been occaſion'd by *Crates*, whoſe Daughter, *Orgilaus*, the Son of *Phalis* being about to marry, it hapned, that the Cup they were to uſe in the Eſpouſals, brake aſunder of it ſelf; which he taking for an ill Omen, left his Bride, and went away with his Father. *Crates* a little after, charging them with taking away a certain golden Veſſel, us'd in the Sacrifices, caus'd *Orgilaus* and his Brother, unheard, to be precipitated from the Top of a Rock to the Bottom, and afterwards ſlew ſeveral of their moſt intimate Friends, as they were at their Devotions in the Temple of *Providence*. After many ſuch things were perpetrated,

A Similitude ſhewing the Source of moſt Seditions and Civil Wars.

What Remedies are to be apply'd to them.

A notable Example in *Crates*.

perpetrated, the *Delphians*, putting to Death *Crates* and his Companions in the Sedition, of their Eſtates, which they call'd Excommunicated, built the Temples in the lower part of the Town. In *Syracuſe* alſo there were two young Men, betwixt whom there was an extraordinary Intimacy, one of which, having taken into his Cuſtody his Friends *Catamite*, vitiated him in his Abſence. The other at his Return, by way of Retaliation, debaucht his Companions Wife. Then one of the ancient Senators, coming into the Council, propos'd the baniſhing of them both, before the City was ruin'd by their filling it with Enmity, [and engaging it in Factious] on their Account. Yet did not he prevail, but a Sedition, ariſing on this Occaſion, by very great Calamities overturn'd a moſt excellently conſtituted Common weal. You have alſo a Domeſtical Example in the Enmity between *Pardalus* and *Tyrrhenus*, which wanted little of deſtroying *Sardis* by embroiling it in Revolt and War on little and private Differences. A Stateſman therefore is not to ſlight the little Offences and Heart-burnings, which as [Diſeaſes] in a Body, paſs ſpeedily from one to another, but to take them in hand, ſuppreſs and cure them. For as *Cato* ſays, by Attention and Carefulneſs great Matters are made little, and little ones reduc'd to nothing. Now there is no better Artifice of indulging Men to this, than the ſhewing himſelf eaſily pacify'd in his own private Differences, perſiſting without Rancor in Matters of the firſt importance, and managing none with Obſtinacy, contending Wrath, or any other Paſſion, which may work Sharpneſs or Bitterneſs in neceſſary Diſputes. For as they bind certain round Muffles about the Hands of thoſe, who combate at Buffets, that in their Conteſts there may not arrive any fatal Accident the Blows being ſoft, and ſuch, as can do no great Harm: So in ſuch Suits and Proceſſes with ones Fellow Citizens,

Another Example of two *Syracuſians*.

He concludes from the fore-mention'd Examples, that the Beginnings of Evils muſt be prevented and extinguiſht betimes, teaching the Means to attain eaſily to this.

Citizens, 'tis beſt to manage the Diſpute by making uſe of pure and ſimple Pretences, and not by ſharpning and empoiſoning Matters, as if they were Weapons, with Calumnies, Malice and Threats, to render them pernicious, great and publick. For he, who in this manner carries himſelf with thoſe, with whom he has Affairs, will have others alſo ſubject to him. But Contentions about publick Matters, where private Grudges are taken away, are ſoon appeas'd, and bring no difficult or fatal Miſchiefs.

Which are the moſt crafty, Water-Animals, or thoſe Creatures that breed upon the Land?

Tranſlated from the Greek *by* John Phillips, *Gent.*

Autobulus, LEonidas being ask'd the queſtion what he thought of *Tyrtæus*? Made anſwer, That he was a good Poet to beautifie and adorn the Minds of young Men: as a Perſon who by the Vigor and Spirit of his Poetical Raptures kindl'd that wrathful Indignation, and Ambition of Honor, which emboldèn'd them in combat to the contempt of Death and Danger. Which makes me afraid, my deareſt Friends, leaſt the *Encomium* of Hunting, yeſterday recited, may have enflam'd our young Gentlemen beyond the bounds of Moderation, ſo as to deem all other things Fruitleſs and of little worth, while they Randezvouze from all Parts to this Exerciſe. So much the rather, becauſe I my ſelf, when I was but very young, even beyond the ſtrength of my Age, ſeem'd to be more then became me addicted to this ſport, and to be over deſirous with *Phædra* in *Euripides*,

With Hounds and Horn and merry Hollow,
The ſpotted Heart and Hind to follow.

So did that diſcourſe affect me, fortify'd with many and probable Arguments.

Soclares. You ſay very truly, *Autobulus*. For that ſame Poet ſeems to me, to have awaken'd the force of Rhetorick for a long time lull'd a-ſleep, to gratifie the Incli-

nations of the Youthful Gentry, and to make himſelf their Spring Companion. But I am moſt pleas'd with him for introducing the Example of ſingle Combatants, from whence he chiefly takes occaſion to Praiſe the ſport of Hunting, as being that which for the moſt part drawing to it ſelf whatever is natural in us, or what we have by uſe acquir'd, to that delight in Men to fight with ſingle Weapons one againſt another, affords an evident proſpect of Artifice and daring Courage, endued with Underſtanding, and encountring brutiſh force and ſtrength: Applauding that of *Euripides*;

Small is the Nerveleſs Strength of feeble Man
Yet through the cunning of his reaching Brain,
By various ſlights and ſundry Stratagems:
Whatever Land or th' Ocean breeds he Tames.

Autobulus. And hence it was, as they ſay, my deareſt *Soclares*, that Men at firſt became inſenſible and inhuman, having once taſted of Murther, and being all accuſtom'd by Hunting and following the Chaſe, not only to behold without remorſe the Wounds and Blood of wild Beaſts, but to rejoyce at their being kill'd and ſlaughter'd. Afterwards, as at *Athens*, ſome *Sycophant* was by the thirty Tyrants ſet apart for Death, as a proper object of Capital Puniſhment, then a Second and a Third; then proceeding by degrees, they ſeiz'd upon good Men, and at length ſpar'd not the beſt and moſt worthy Citizens; in like manner the firſt that ſlew a Bear or a Wolf, obtained applauſe, Then the Ox and Hog were apointed to be killed, under pretence of having taſted the ſacred Things that lay before them. Next to them Deer, Hares and Goats were made uſe of for Food, and in ſome places the Fleſh of Sheep, Dogs and Horſes grew familiar to humane Taſt. The tame Gooſe alſo and Pigeon, Mans familiar Domeſtic, according to *Sophocles*, not for nouriſhment, or to aſſwage hunger, as Cats and Weeſels; but to indulge voluptuous Appetites, were dreſt and mangl'd to pieces: Which gave ſtrength and vigour to whatever was in Nature blood thirſty and ſavage, and rendring the diſpoſition of Man inflexible

to pity, had almoſt eras'd out of his Breaſt whatever was inclinable to humanity and mildneſs. Whereas on the other ſide, the *Pythagoreans*, that they might accuſtom Men to the Love of humanity and compaſſion, ſtill inculcated into their Minds, a particular care of being mild and gentle towards Beaſts. For there is nothing more powerful then cuſtom to win upon the wild affections of Man, and to draw him from extremity to moderation. But I know not how it comes, to paſs that being enter'd into this Diſcourſe, we have not only forgot the Subject we were Yeſterday upon, but what we had alſo this day agreed to make the Theme of our Colloquey. For Yeſterday, as well you know, having thrown out a Propoſition, that all Creatures were in ſome manner partakers of Underſtanding and Reaſon, we gave an occaſion to you young Hunts-men for a fair diſpute, which of the two excell'd in craft and cunning, the Land-Animals, or the Creatures that breed in the Sea? Which, if you pleaſe, we will determin this day, if *Ariſtodemus* and *Phædimus* will ſtand to their Agreement: Of which two Gentlemen, the one has offer'd himſelf to his Friends to be the Patron of the Land-Animals, the other reſerves the honour of being more crafty to thoſe of the Sea.

Soclares. They will be as good as their words, I aſſure ye, *Autobulus*, and will be here preſently: For I ſaw them both early this Morning preparing for the Combat. In the mean time, if you pleaſe, before they begin, let us reſume ſomething of what was Yeſterday not ſo fully diſcourſed for want of time, or not ſo carefully argu'd in our Wine, as it ought to have been. For there ſeem'd a diſpute to reſound in my Ears from the Philoſophers *Portico*, as if immortal were oppoſite to mortal, incorruptible to corruptible, incorporeal to corporeal; and in like manner that things void of reaſon ought to be oppos'd to thoſe Beings that are endu'd with reaſon left among ſo many Connexions this alone ſhould be found maim'd and imperfect.

Autobulus. Good now, Friend *Soclares*, who was he that put ſuch a queſtion, as if that, becauſe there are

certain Beings endu'd with reaſon, therefore there is nothing void of reaſon? For we abound with Examples in all things that are deſtitute of a Soul; nor do we want any other *Antitheſis* to Irrational, but only to oppoſe whatever is depriv'd of a Soul, as being void of Reaſon and Underſtanding, to that which is endu'd with Reaſon and Underſtanding, together with a Soul. But if any one will aſſert, that Nature is not defective, and therefore that every Animated Nature is partly rational, partly without Reaſon, another may at the ſame time alledge, that every Animated Nature is partly endu'd with imagination, partly depriv'd of it; partly ſenſible, partly inſenſible; to the end that Nature may not want theſe oppoſite Habits and Privations, as it were equally ballanc'd in the ſame Kind. For if it be abſurd to doubt whether ſome Living Creatures are ſenſible, others without Senſe, it is as equally ridiculous to grant Imagination to ſome Living Creatures, and not allow it to others; in regard there is no Living Creature that comes into the World, but what is preſently endu'd with Senſe and Imagination. And thus would he be as much out of the way, who ſhould require one Living Creature to be rational, another to be void of Reaſon; diſtinguiſhing between Men, as if he that had a ſhare of Senſe, did not alſo partake of underſtanding; or that there were any Living Creature, from which a certain ſort of Opinion and Ratiocination, otherwiſe called Senſe and Natural Inſtinct, were abſent. For Nature, which, as they truly ſay, made all things for the ſake of ſome thing, and to ſome end, did not make a *ſenſible Creature to be meerly ſenſible in* barely ſuffering, but *to be ſenſible of many things as* familiar and agreeable, and *of other things as baneful* and pernicious, Nor can we omit, *that without any teaching or* inſtruction, they avoid ſome things, and covet the uſe and benefit of others. Senſe it is therefore that affords to every Creature the diſtinction both of uſeful and hurtful; which eſchewing, or making choice of things profitable, and diſcerning and avoiding of things pernicious or troubleſome, by the force of Senſe, can never be thought

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to reſide in any Creature not capable to reaſon, to judge, remember and conſider. Therefore if you will deprive the Creatures of Expectation, Memory, Deſign, Preparation, Hope, Fear and Grief, you muſt at the ſame time deny them the uſe either of Eyes or Ears, as not having any manner of Senſe or Imagination; which it is better for them to be without, then to labour under Grief and Pain; to which they can never be ſubject, if utterly depriv'd of Senſe.

There is an Oration of *Strato* the Philoſopher, demonſtrating that without Senſe there can be no Underſtanding. For many times Letters curſorily glanc'd upon by the Eye, and Speeches little regarded by the Ear, forſake our knowledge, but are entertain'd by thoſe that are more attentive. Afterwards by Recollection the ſame things return into our Mind, for us to diſpoſe and purſue the Dictates of our own Thoughts, as we pleaſe our ſelves. Whence we ſay proverbially, *the Mind ſees, the Mind hears*, all other things are deaf and blind, in regard there can be no Senſe in the Eyes and Ears, if Underſtanding be wanting. Therefore King *Cleomenes*, after great Commendations given to a Copy of Verſes recited at a Banquet where he was preſent, being ask'd whether it were not an admirable Piece, bid them that heard it give their Judgment, for that his Mind was in the *Peloponneſus*. Therefore of neceſſity whatever Creatures are capable of Senſe and Underſtanding, can no otherwiſe be ſenſible then by the Force of Underſtanding.

But ſuppoſe we ſhould grant that Senſe has no need of the Underſtanding for the performance of the Duty incumbent upon it, nevertheleſs, when that ſame Senſe which makes a difference between what is grateful and what is averſe to Nature is wanting in a Living Creature, where is that retention of the Memory, that dread of things abominated, that deſire of things uſeful and profitable? Which being abſent, how comes it to paſs that they are endu'd with that activity and foreſight, to provide Receptacles and Places of refuge for themſelves, to look out after their Prey, and to avoid the

Snares and Ginns of the Hunters? And yet thoſe very Authors inculcate theſe things in their Introductions, even to the teizing our Ears; defining purpoſe to be an Indication of perfection; Aggreſſion to be an Act of violence, before an Act of violence; Preparation to be an Action before an Action: Memory to be the comprehenſion of ſome certain paſt Axiom which at firſt was apprehended by Senſe. In all which things there is nothing which may not rightly be ſaid to partake of Reaſon, and yet all theſe things are common to all Creatures: As indeed are certainly all thoſe things, which refer to cogitation, which, while they lie conceal'd in the Brain, we call Thoughts; but when they come to be in motion, we name the Acts of Thought acknowledging in the mean time all Paſſions and Perturbations of the Mind to be falſe Judgments and erroneous Opinions. So that it is a wonder to me, that the ſame Men ſhould over-ſee ſo many Operations and Motions, ſome of Deſire, others of Fear; nay, by *Jupiter*, many times of Envy and Emulation it ſelf. And many times they themſelves puniſh their Dogs and Horſes, when they commit a Fault, and this not to no purpoſe, but to chaſtiſe them, by cauſing in them that ſame trouble of Mind, which, being the effect of pain, we call Repentance. Now the tickling the Ear by pleaſing Sounds is call'd *Keleſis*: But the bewitching the Eye is call'd *Goeteia*. Both which we make uſe of in the Domeſticating of Wild Beaſts. Harts and Horſes are allur'd by the Sounds of Pipes and Flutes. And there are a ſort of Crabs, which are charm'd out of their holes by Flagelets made of *Lote-tree-wood*; and 'tis reported that the Shadd-fiſh are drawn to ſhew themſelves above the Water by ſinging and clapping of hands. The *Otus* alſo, which is a Bird not much unlike a Night-Raven, is taken by allurement of the ſight; for that while he ſtands ſtaring upon the Fowlers Dancing before him in Meaſure and Figure, and out of Affection will be ſtriving to Act his Part, by aping their Motions with his Wings and Shoulders, he is frequently ſurpriz'd and taken.

But

But as for thoſe, that more fooliſhly affirm that Beaſts are neither affected with Joy nor Anger, nor Fear; that the Nightingale, or rather the Swallow, does not build, that the Bee does not remember, that the Lion is not angry, that the Hart is not timorous, I would fain know, what anſwer they will make to thoſe who ſay, that Beaſts neither ſee nor hear but as it were ſee, and as it were hear; that they neither neigh nor bleat, but as it were ſend forth a certain ſound; laſtly, that they do not abſolutely live, but live as it were? For in my Opinion to aver this, is as contrary to plain demonſtration, as the reſt.

Soclares. Well then, *Autobulus*, ſuppoſe me to be one of thoſe that affirm theſe things. For to ſay truth, while Men will be comparing the Actions of Beaſts with the cuſtoms, actions and manner of living of Men, and yet deny that the ſame Beaſts have the leaſt Inclination or Aim at any progreſs towards Vertue, to which we bent our diſcourſe, I doubt whether Nature gave them a Beginning or no, ſince they are ſo uncapable to attain the end.

Autobulus, Why truly, *Soclares* this is not a thing that ſeems ſo abſurd to thoſe Men. For that while they aſſer the extream love of Parents towards their Children to be the Principle of Society and Juſtice, and find at the ſame time this Vertue apparent and ſurpaſſing in brute Animals, yet they will not allow them in the leaſt to partake of Juſtice. Like Mules, which though they are furniſhed with Genital Parts, as wanting neither Privities nor Wombs, and mixing with delight and pleaſure, yet cannot attain the end of Generation. But then again I would have you conſider, whether they be not as ridiculous, that affirm *Socrates* and *Plato* to be no leſs vitious then the meaneſt of Slaves; nay more, that they were Fools, intemperate and unjuſt: and then they find fault with the Nature of Beaſts, as being impure, and no way accurately fram'd for the Reception of Vertue. As if the depravedneſs and imbecility of reaſon, were not vices of Reaſon, of which all brute Beaſts are Guilty; the moſt of which we plainly find

to

to be intemperate, fearful and unjuſt. Therefore he that requires perfection of reaſon in a Creature not framed by nature to receive and entertain it, little differs from one that ſhould deny a Monkey to partake of deformity by nature, or a Tortoiſe of ſlowneſs, as being neither ſuſceptible of beauty or ſwiftneſs. Nor do they obſerve the Diſtinction that lies before their Eyes. For reaſon is in the Creature by nature, but right and perfect reaſon is attain'd by Induſtry and Education; ſo that naturally all Creatures may be ſaid to be rational. But if they look for perfection of reaſon, and true Wiſdom, they will hardly find thoſe perfections in any Man whatever. For as there is a difference between ſight and ſight; and between flight and flight (for Haws and Graſhoppers do not ſee alike, neither do Eagles and Patridges flie with equal ſwiftneſs) ſo neither in all rational Creatures is there to be found, the ſame Perfection of cunning and acuteneſs. For as there are many Examples to be produc'd of ſeveral Brute Creatures, excelling iu the Obſervance of Society, Fortitude and Foreſight, as to their particular Oeconomy, and making Proviſion for themſelves; ſo on the other ſide, there may be found among them, as many of Injuſtice, Cowardice and Folly. Which is evident from the preſent Conteſt, wherein theſe Young Gentlemen have engag'd themſelves, while the one has undertaken to maintain that Land-Animals, the other, that Creatures bred in the Sea, are moſt enclin'd to Vertue. Which is plainly demonſtrated by comparing of River-Horſes with Storks. For the one ſupports and cheriſhes their Parents, if they may be ſo call'd; the other kills them, that they may not enjoy their Dams. So likewiſe if you compare Doves with Patridges. For the Cock Patridge will not ſuffer the Hen to ſit, but breaks her Eggs, and bangs her out of her Neſt, refuſing to be trod. But the Cock Pigeon takes upon him part of the Females, duty, in brooding over the Eggs and feeding the young ones; and if the Hen happen to be too long abſent, corrects her with his Bill, till he forces her to return to her Neſt. So that while *Antipater* found fault with Sheep and Aſſes for their naſtineſs, I wonder, how he came to paſs by the *Lynx*, and the Swallow,

low of which the one are ſo cleanly, that they always remove and hide their Excrements, the other teaches her Young ones to turn their Tayles out of their Neſt, before they let fall their deſilement. And indeed why may we not ſay, that one Tree is more docible than another, as Dogs are more docible than Sheep, or one Pot-herb more timorous then another, as Harts are more fearful than Lions. Or otherwiſe, as among things immoveable, there is not one thing ſlower in Motion then another, nor among things that are mute, one thing more vocal then another; ſo neither among things to which Nature has not afforded a faculty of underſtanding, is there one thing more timorous, more ſlothful, or more intemperate then another. But as to thoſe Creatures where that faculty is preſent, the difference is manifeſt in the degrees of more or leſs.

Soclares. However 'tis a wonderful thing to obſerve, how much Man differs from all other Creatures in probity of Manners, in Induſtry, and all thoſe things, that relate to Juſtice and common Society.

Antobulus. Nevertheleſs, my dear friend, this cannot be deny'd, that there are many brute Beaſts that ſurpaſſes Men both in bulk and ſwiftneſs, others that far ſurpaſſes him in ſtrength of ſight, and exactneſs of Hearing; and yet for all this we are not to ſay, that Man is blind, without ſtrength, or wants Fars: For Nature has not depriv'd us either of Hands or Eyes, or ſtrength, or bulk, though we muſt not compare with Camels or Elephants. In like manner we muſt not ſay, that brute Beaſts are altogether depriv'd of reaſon and underſtanding, becauſe they are more dull of underſtanding, and not ſo quick at ratiocination as we are; as only enjoying a weak and muddy ſort of Reaſon, like a dim and clouded Eye. And did I not preſently expect theſe young Gentlemen, being Perſons both ſtudious and learned, to determine the Point in reference to Land and Sea-Animals, I could produce a thouſand Examples of the Docility, and a thouſand more of good Nature, in Beaſts, which the Famous City of *Rome* has given us an opportunity to fetch from her Imperial Theatres; but we will leave theſe things freſh and untouch'd,

for

for them to embelliſh with their eloquent Diſcourſe In the mean time I have ſomething to offer by the by, which is this, that I am of Opinion, that there is a mutilation, diſeaſe and defect peculiar to every part and faculty, as blindneſs of the Eye, lameneſs of the Leg, and ſtuttering of the Tongue, which defects cannot be appropriated to any other Members. For that blindneſs can never be attributed to that, which was never created to ſee; nor lameneſs to that, which never could go; nor can any thing be ſaid to ſtammer, that wants a Tongue; or to liſp or ſtutter, that has not a vocal Utterance. As nothing can be ſaid to be a Changling, or beſide his wits, or mad, to which Nature has deny'd the Uſe of Thought, Reaſon and Underſtanding; for it is impoſſible without ſome faculty that muſt ſuffer either privation or mutilation, or ſome other defect. But you have ſeen Dogs, that have been mad; and I have ſeen Horſes under the ſame predicament; and ſome there are, who ſay that Bulls and Foxes will be mad. But the Example of Dogs is ſufficient, which is unqueſtionable. Which makes it evident, that thoſe Creatures have a ſort of Reaſon and Underſtanding not to be deſpis'd, which being once confus'd and troubl'd, is call'd madneſs. For we do not find either their ſight or their hearing diminiſh'd; but only like a Man affected with Hypochondriac Melancholy, or in a delirium; of whom it will be abſurd to ſay, that he was not beſide himſelf, or that his Senſe, Reaſon and Memory were not diſturb'd. For cuſtom tells, that they who are in a raving condition, are not in their right Senſes, but are fallen from their Reaſon; and ſo whoever believes that there is any other cauſe why Dogs run mad, but only that their Senſes, Reaſon and Memories are diſturb'd, while they ceaſe to know Faces the moſt familiar to them before, abandon their moſt uſual Food, and overſee what is juſt before their Eyes; ſuch a Man, I ſay, ſeems to me to contend againſt Truth it ſelf, and out of ignorance to ſet himſelf upon the denial of evident Matter of Fact.

Socrates. You ſeem to me to be very much in the Right. For the Stoics and Peripateticks, are lead to affirm the contrary upon this ſuppoſition, that Juſtice could have no certain Original, but would be altogether incomprehenſible and inexiſtent, if all brute Creatures ſhould partake of Reaſon. For either of neceſſity it muſt be a very great piece of Injuſtice in us to devour and feed upon them; or if we forbear the uſe of them, it would be impoſſible for us to live; or rather we ſhould in ſome meaſure live the Lives of Beaſts, rejecting the uſe of brute Creatures. I paſs by thoſe innumerable Myriads of *Nomades* and *Troglodytes*, that know no other Food but Fleſh. But as for us, that ſeem to live lovingly and in friendſhip together, what neceſſity would there be of labouring the Earth, of toyling upon the Sea, or mining in the Mountains? What need the care of dreſſing Victuals, if it were ſo that we muſt be bound to live, as it would then become us, not only without Injury, but rather with all Civility and Humanity toward all the ſorts of Beaſts, as being our Fellow rational Creatures? We have no cure, no remedy for an unqueſtionable neceſſity that deprives us either of Life or Juſtice, unleſs we obſerve that Ancient Bound and Diſpenſation which according to *Heſiod*, diſtinguiſhing *Natures*, and ſeparating every Kind by themſelves, commands

The Fiſh, wild Beaſts, and all the winged Fowl,
To prey upon their Kinds without controul,
For among them no Law, nor Juſtice reigns,
Only by Juſtice Man from Man abſtains.

And therefore as Brutes can extend no Act of Juſtice to us, ſo can neither we commit any Act of Injuſtice againſt them. Which argument they who reject, have left us no benefit of Life, nor any the ſmalleſt entrance for Juſtice into the World.

Autobulus. Theſe things, dear friend, you utter, as the Opinion of thoſe People; but we are not to allow Philoſophers a Remedy to procure eaſie delivery, as they do to Women that are ſubject to hard Labours, meerly that

that they may bring us forth Juſtice without any pain or trouble. For the ſame Perſons will not allow it to *Epicurus* in the greateſt things; when out of lazineſs he would make us believe the Stars and all the Creatures were made at firſt by chance, meerly by the ſlight tendency of ſo ſmall and pitiful a thing as an Atom; and thereby prevent the Labours of Reaſon within us. Seeing therefore they neither make out what is uncertain, nor grant what is apparent, 'tis but requiſite they ſhould ſubmit in what has been ſaid concerning Beaſts in reference to Juſtice, if they will not acknowledge their Error, or otherwiſe demonſtrate. For Juſtice has another way to eſtabliſh it ſelf, neither ſo ſteep nor ſlippery, nor leading to the ſubverſion of evident Truths, but which, according to *Plato*'s inſtruction, my Son, and thy Friend, *Socrates*, has ſhew'd to ſuch as are not captiouſly contentious, but willing to learn. For certain it is, that both *Empedocles* and *Heraclitus* held it for a Truth, that Man could not be altogether cleared from Injuſtice towards the Beaſts, often bewayling and exclaming againſt Nature, as if ſhe were nothing elſe but *Neceſſity* and *War*, having neither any thing unmixt, nor any thing truly pure, but ſtill arriving at her end by many, and thoſe unjuſt and unlawful Paſſions. Whence they affirm that ſhe Originally proceeded from Injuſtice by the conjunction of immortal with mortal; and for that the thing engender'd, is ſtill delighted with the Parts of that which engenders, diſmember'd contrary to Nature from the whole. But this ſeems to be too luxuriant and ſevere an Accuſation of Nature: For there is yet a more moderate excuſe, which does not altogether deprive the Beaſts of Reaſon, yet juſtifies the neceſſary and convenient uſe of them; which when the Ancients introduc'd, they deteſted and utterly diſcountenanc'd voracious and voluptuous gluttony. *Pythagoras* alſo reſum'd the Argument, how he might reap the benefit of the Creatures without doing Injuſtice. For they do no Injuſtice, that chaſtize and kill ſuch Savage Beaſts, that are both hurtful to Man, and never will be tam'd: But taming ſuch as are gentle and loving to

Men, thereby to make them Aſſiſtant in the ſeveral uſes to which they were ordain'd.

The Horſe and Aſs, that Backs to load reſign,
And race of Bulls, ſweet milk-affording Kine,

Which as *Prometheus* in *Eſchilus* obſerves,

Kind Heaven vouchſaf'd to Men by toyle diſtreſs'd,
With ſervile Limbs his labours to aſſiſt.

Thus we make uſe of Dogs to guard our Goats and Sheep, while they are mil'kd and ſhorn. For Life does not preſently forſake a Man, unleſs he be fed with *Periwinkles*, or the Livers of Geeſe, or unleſs he may kill whole Oxen or Kids to ſupply his Banquets: Neither is it out of any extravagancy upon the Theatre, or to paſs away their time in Hunting, that they compel ſome Beaſts to be daring, and to fight againſt their wills, and kill others, whom Nature has not arm'd to defend themſelves. For, in my Opinion, he that is for ſport and paſtime, ought to ſeek out for ſuch as will ſport and be merry with him. And therefore it was the ſaying of *Bion*, that though Boys throw Stones at Frogs in ſport, yet the Frogs do not dye in ſport but in earneſt; ſo in Hunting and Fiſhing, the fault is in the Men, delighting in the torments and cruel deaths of Beaſts, and tearing them without compaſſion from their Whelps and their young Ones. For 'tis not in the making uſe of Beaſts that Men do them wrong, but in the waſtfully and cruelly deſtroying them.

Soclares. Contain your ſelf, my deareſt *Autobulus*, and forbear theſe accuſations, for here are ſeveral Gentlemen coming, all great Huntſmen, whom it will be very difficult to bring over to your Opinion, neither is it convenient to offend them.

Autobulus. You give me good advice: However I know *Eubiotus* very well, and my Nephew *Ariſton*; nor am I leſs acquainted with *Aiacides* and *Ariſtotimus*, the Sons of *Dionyſius* the *Delphian*, as alſo with *Nicander* the Sons of *Euthydamus*, all expert in the *Foreſt-Chace*, as *Homer* expreſſes it; and therefore likely to take part with *Ariſtotimus*. On the other ſide yonder comes

Phædimus

Phædimus too, bringing along with him the Iſlanders and Neighbours to the Sea, *Heracleton* of *Megara*, and *Philoſtratus* of *Bubæa*,

Whoſe whole delight is all the Day,
Thy toylſom Paſtime of the Sea.

But as for *Optatus*, our equal in Years.

Which of the ſides to range him well,
So vers'd in both, we cannot tell.

For he is one that offers as well the firſt Fruits of his Fiſhery to *Dictynna*, as of his Foreſt ſpoyls to the *Mountain Deities*: So that it is apparent, that he comes among us as one that intends not to be partial to one ſide more then the other; or elſe our Conjecture is amiſs, dear *Optatus*, that your deſign is only to be an Impartial Umpire between theſe young Gentlemen.

Optatus, You conjecture very truly *Autobulus*. For the Ancient Law of *Solon* is out of date, that puniſh'd thoſe who ſtood Neuters and refus'd to adhere to neither ſide.

Autobulus. Seat your ſelf than here by us, that if there ſhould be any occaſion for a Teſtimony, we may not be troubl'd to run to *Ariſtotles* Writings, bu acquieſcing in your experience, may give our ſuffrages according to what you aver for Truth.

Optatus. Go too then, young Gentlemen, are ye agreed upon the Method and Order of the Diſpute?

Phædimus, Truly, worthy *Soclares*, that very thing occaſion'd a great debate among us; but at length, according to that of *Euripides*,

The Child of Fortune, Chance, the point agreed,
And fix'd the Method how we ſhou'd proceed,

By giving the Precedence to the Land Animals to plead their Cauſe before *Marine* Creatures.

Soclares. Then *Ariſtotimus*, 'tis high time for you to ſpeak, and for us to hear.

Ariſtotimus. The Court is open to all concern'd in the Controverſie —— Others there are that kill their young Ones, by leaping the Females at the very inſtant

ſtant of their bringing forth. There are a ſort of *Mullets* call'd *Pardi*, that feed upon their own ſlime. But the *Pourcontrel* or *Polypus* ſits all the Winter feeding upon its ſelf,

In needy Houſe and Domicils forlorn.

ſo ſlothful, ſo ſtupid, ſo given to his Gut he is, or elſe ſo abandon'd to all thoſe Vices together. And therefore *Plato* again and again forbids, or rather makes it his Wiſh in his Laws, that young Men might not be permitted to addict themſelves to *Marine Fiſhery*; wherein there is no Exerciſe of Strength, no Cogitation of Wiſdom; nor any thing that contributes to fortitude, ſwiftneſs or agility, in combating againſt *Pikes*, *Congers* or *Scates*; whereas in the Chaſe of Wild Beaſts, the fiercer ſort accuſtom the Huntſman to contempt of danger; the more ſubtle ſort exerciſe and ſharpen his wit and cunning; the ſwifter ſort exerciſe his Strength, and render him more apt to endure labour. Theſe are the advantages that accrue to a Man by Hunting; but in Fiſhing, there is nothing worth his while. For never any of the Gods got honour by the Sir-name of a *Conger-killer*; as *Apollo* was Sir-nam'd the *Wolf-ſlayer*; never any of the *Deities* glory'd in being a *Darter of Mullets*, as *Diana* is honor'd with the Addition of *Hart-darting*; and what wonder is it? When it is accounted more Noble for a Man to kill, than to buy a wild Boar, a Hart, a Goat or a Hare, but more honourable to buy a *Thunny*, a *Lobſter*, or an *Amy*, then to kill 'em. And therefore becauſe there is nothing in Fiſhing that is noble, no uſing of Ginns and ſlight of cunning, it is accounted a ſorry pitiful Exerciſe, not worth a Man's labour. In general then, ſince the uſual Arguments by which Philoſophers demonſtrate that Beaſts partake of Reaſon are theſe following, Purpoſe, Contrivance, Memory, Paſſions, Care of their young Ones, Gratefulneſs to thoſe from whom they receive Kindneſſes, and the Remembrance of ſhrew'd Turns: To which we may add the ſearch after, and choice of, what is needful and beneficial for

them, together with apparent ſhews of Vertue, as of Fortitude, Society, Continence and Magnanimity. if we conſider the Marine Creatures, we ſhall not find, that our ſtricteſt Obſervation can perceive in them any of theſe Excellencies, or at beſt ſuch obſcure and imperfect glimmerings, as are ſcarce diſcernable. But in Terreſtrial and Land-Animals, there is not any Man but may behold the moſt luculent, the moſt evident and uncontroulable demonſtrations in the World of all that has been ſaid. In the firſt place obſerve the Deſigns and Preparations of Bulls provok'd to Combat, and of wild Boars whetting their Teeth. Again, Elephants, when they have digg'dup, or tore down the the Trees, which they intend to feed upon, and thereby blunted and worn out one of their Tuſhes, they only make uſe of that for thoſe purpoſes, but reſerve the other ſtrong and ſharp for their own defence. The Lion alſo always walks with his Feet inverted, hiding his Claws within ſide his Paw, to prevent the Hunter from tracing him eaſily by his Footing For the Track of a Lions Claw is not eaſily to be found, ſo that the Hunters are frequently at a loſs, and wander after the obſcure and ſcarce diſcernable Footſteps of thoſe Beaſts. You have heard alſo, I ſuppoſe, of the *Ichneumen*, how that he Arms himſelf as compleatly as a Souldier with his Breaſt-plate and Cuirace prepar'd for Battle, in ſuch a manner does that Creature ſurround and wrap himſelf about with a Coat of Mail, when he attacks the Crocodile.

Admirable are the Preparations of Swallows before they go to lay their Eggs, how they place the more ſolid Stubble for foundations, and upon that build up the ſlighter ſtraws; and if they perceive that the Neſt wants Mud inſtead of Glue, you may obſerve how they fly to the next Lake or Sea, and after they have ſkimm'd the Superficies of the Water with their Wings, they lick up the Duſt, and ſo daub and bind together the looſe and ill cohering Parts of the Neſt. As for the Form of their Architecture, it is neither compos'd of Angles nor many ſides, but ſmooth, and as much as may

may be, Spherical; for that ſuch a Figure is laſting and capacious; and not eaſily affording entrance to Creatures that lye in wait for their deſtruction from without.

Who is there that does not admire for more reaſons than one the Labour of the Spiders, ſo like the Threads that Women ſpin, and the Nets that are us'd in hunting. For the extraordinary fineneſs of the Spinning, and evenneſs of the Thread, not diſcontinu'd or ſnapp'd off like the Yarn upon a Quill, but having the ſmooth and ſubtile texture of a thin Membrane, and knit and ſpun together, with a certain clammy moiſture imperceptibly mixt; beſides the Tincture of it, cauſing a kind of Airy and Miſty colour, the better to deceive; but above all, the Conduct and Governing of this little Engin, in which when any thing happens to be entangl'd, you ſee how preſently like an expert Huntſman, the ſubtile Artiſt contracts her Net, and binds her prey within it. All which, were it not every day obvious to our Sight and Contemplation, gives Credit to my Diſcourſe, which otherwiſe might be accounted no leſs fabulous, then what is reported of certain *Lybian* Cranes, that when they are a thirſty, throw Stones into the Water, by that means to raiſe it to ſuch a height, that they may be able to reach it with their Bills. Then again when I ſaw a Ship Dog in the abſence of the Seamen, putting in Stones in a half empty Jar of Oyl, it was to me a wonder how that Dog ſhould underſtand, that the Compreſſion of the heavier weight would make the lighter riſe. And the ſame Artifices are reported of *Cretan* Bees and *Cilician* Geeſe.

For the firſt of theſe, being to take their flight about ſome windy Promontory, ballaſt themſelves with little Stones, to prevent their being carry'd away by the ſtronger blaſts. And as for the Geeſe, they being afraid of the Eagles, every time they croſs the Mountain *Taurus*, carry great Stones in their Mouths to the end, that by that means, as it were, bridling their gagling Tongues, they may croſs the Mountain in ſilence without alarming their Enemies.

Extraordinary alſo is the Caution which the *Cranes* obſerve in their flight. For they flie when the Wind is very high, and the Air very tempeſtuous, not as in fair Weather with their Beaks in their Breaſts like a Half-Moon, but forming a Triangular Body, with the ſharp Angle of that Figure they penetrate the Wind that ruffles round about 'em, and by that means preſerve their Order unbroken. On the other ſide when they fall upon the Ground, thoſe that are upon the Night-watch ſtand with the whole weight of their Bodies upon one Leg, holding a Stone in the Claw of the other Foot. For the holding of the Stone keeps them awake for a long time together; and wakes them again with the noiſe of the fall, if they happen to drop aſleep. So that it was no wonder, that *Hercules* laid his Quiver under his Arm-pit, and with his ſtrenuous Arm embracing his Bow;

Slept all the Night, where e'er he laid his Load,
With his right-handed weight upon the Wood.

Nor do I ſo much admire at him, who was the firſt that hit upon the way to open an Oyſter, when I meet with and conſider the Artifices of the *Herons*. For a *Heron*, when he has ſwallow'd a gaping Oyſter, endures the trouble and vexation of it for ſo long time, till he perceives it ſoften and relax'd by the heat of his Stomach; then caſting it up again gaping and divided, he takes out that which is fit for Food.

But accurately to relate the Oeconomy and Contrivances of the Emmets, as it is a task of great Labour, ſo it would argue too much of Negligence to paſs them over in ſilence. For there is not in nature a ſmaller Creature, and yet a moſt abſolute Mirror of the greateſt and moſt noble performances, and, as it were, in a tranſparent drop, the Appearance of all vertue. There is Friendſhip to be diſcern'd in Mutual Society. There is the Image of Fortitude in the patient undergoing of Labour. In them are to be ſeen many Seeds of continence, many of Wiſdom and Juſtice. Inſomuch that *Cleanthes*, who deny'd that Beaſts were endu'd with

with Reaſon, could not forbear reporting how he met with the following Accident of a Crowd of Emments, that came to another Ant-hill, bringing along with them a dead Emmet. Preſently other Emmets aſcending out of their Ant-hill, ſeem'd, as it were, to meet them, and then diſappear'd again, and this was done twice or thrice. At length, the one ſide brought up from under ground a Worm, as the Price of the dead Emmets Redemption, which the other Party of Piſmires receiving, deliver'd the dead Emmet and ſo departed. But that which is apparent to all, is their Equity to each other when they meet one another, while they that carry nothing, always give way to thoſe that are burdened; nor are their Crroſions and Partitions of things, too weighty for ſingle carriage, leſs remarkable, to the end the Burdens may be divided among many. But when they bring forth their little Eggs and expoſe them to the Cold, *Aratus* makes it a ſign of Rainy Weather.

When from her hollow Cells th' Induſtrious Ant
Her hidden ſtores brings forth of ſmall Provant.

For in that Senſe many read the Ὠὰ or *Ova*, to the Providence of thoſe little Creatures, who when they find their Proviſion in their Magazines to begin to taint and grow rotten, bring it forth and expoſe it to the open Air, to prevent the Progreſs of the Putrefaction. But that, which above all things, demonſtrates the ſurpaſſing Excellency of their Underſtanding, is their pre-apprehenſion of the Germinating of *Wheat*. For the Wheat does not remain dry and void of Putrifaction, but grows moiſt and turns into a kind of milky ſubſtance, when it changes from Seed to become an Herb. For fear therefore that preſerving the quality, it ſhould become uſeleſs for food, they eat out the very principal part of the Grain, from whence the Wheat ſends forth its bloſſom. I muſt confeſs, I do not approve of thoſe, who dig up Ant-hills on purpoſe to improve their Learning, as it were by Anatomy. However they tell us by Vertue of that cruel Information,

that the Paſſage or Deſcent from the Top of the Hill to the Neſt is not directly ſtrait, nor eaſily penetrated by any other Creature, but intercepted with ſeveral turnings and windings, leading through ſeveral Undermining and Perforations into three Cavities, of which the one is the common Place of Feeding and Converſe for the whole Community, the next is the general Magazine of their Proviſion, and the third is the Apartment, where they diſpoſe of their Dead.

Iam afraid you may deem me too impertinent in joyning *Elephants* with *Piſmires*, and yet I cannot but think it ſeaſonable, to ſhew the nature and force of Underſtanding as well in the ſmalleſt as in the greateſt Bodies, neither obſcur'd in the one, nor deficient in the other.

Some there are that admire in an *Elephant* his aptneſs to learn, and to be taught, and the many various Poſtures and Alterations of movement which he ſhews upon the Theatres, not eaſily to be equall'd by human Aſſiduity, as ſubtle and abounding in Memory and Retention as he is. But for my part, I rather chuſe to prove his evident Underſtanding from the Paſſions and Inclinations of the Creature, that were never taught him, but only infus'd by Nature, as being altogether unmixt and pure without the help of Art.

At *Rome* not very long ago, there were many *Elephants* that were taught many dangerous Poſtures, many windings and turnings and circular ſcrewings of their bulky Bodies hard to be expreſt; among which there was one, which being duller than the reſt, and therefore often rated and chaſtiz'd for his ſtupidity, was ſeen in the Night time, by Moon-light without being forc'd to it, to Practice over his Leſſons with all the Induſtry imaginable.

Agno tells a Story of an Elephant in *Syria* that was bred up in a certain Houſe, who obſerv'd that his Keeper took away and defrauded him every day of half the Meaſure of his Barley, only that once the Maſter being preſent and looking on, the Keeper pour'd out the whole Meaſure, Which was no ſooner done, but the Elephant extending his *Proboſcis*, ſeparated the

Barley and divided it into two equal parts, thereby ingeniouſly diſcovering, as much as in him lay, the Injuſtice of his Keeper.

Another, in revenge that his Keeper mix'd Stones and Dirt with his Barley, as the Keeper's Meat was boyling upon the Fire, took up the Aſhes and flung them into the Pot.

Another being vex'd and provok'd by the Boys in *Rome*, that prick'd his *Proboſcis* with the ſharp ends of their Writing ſteels, caught one of them in his *Proboſcis* and mounted him up in the Air, as if he intended to have ſquaſh'd out his Guts; but upon the loud outcries of the Spectators, ſet him gently down again upon his Feet, and ſo went on, believing he had ſufficiently puniſh'd the Boy in skaring him. Many other things are reported of the Wild Elephants that feed without controul, as being under their own Juriſdiction, but nothing more to be admir'd then their paſſing of great Rivers. For firſt of all the youngeſt and the leaſt flounces into the Stream; whom the reſt beholding from the ſhoar, if they ſee that the leſs bulky Leader keeps ſteady footing with his Back above Water, they are then aſſur'd and confident that they may boldly adventure without any danger.

Having thus far proceeded in our diſcourſe, I cannot think it well done to paſs by the cunning of the Fox, by reaſon of the ſimilitude it has with the formers. The Mythologiſts tell us, that the Dove which *Deucaleon* ſent out of his *Ark*, returning back again, was to him a certain ſign of the Storm not ceas'd; but of ſerene and fair weather when ſhe flew quite away. But the *Thracians*, to this day, when they deſign to paſs a River that is frozen over, make uſe of a Fox to try whether the Ice will bear or no. For the Fox treading gently, lays his Ear to the Ice, and if he perceive by the noiſe of the Water that the Stream runs very cloſe underneath, conjecturing from thence that the Congelation is not deep but thin, and no way ſtedfaſtly ſolid, he makes a ſtop, and if he be ſuffer'd, returns back again; but if he perceive no noiſe, he goes on boldly.

Nor can we ſay that this is only an exquiſiteneſs of Senſe without reaſon, but a Syllogiſtical deduction from Senſe; concluding that whatever makes a noiſe is mov'd; whatever is mov'd, cannot be frozen; what is not frozen, is moiſt; what is moiſt, gives way. The *Logicians* ſay, that a Dog making uſe of the Argument drawn from many disjunctive Propoſitions thus reaſons with himſelf in places where ſeveral High-ways meet: Either the Wild-Beaſt is gone this way, or that, or that way; but not that way, nor that way, therefore this way: The force of Senſe affording nothing but the Preſumption; but the force of Reaſon affording the major Propoſition, and inferring the concluſion of the Aſſumption. But a Dog ſtands in no need of any ſuch Teſtimonial; in regard it is both falſe and adulterate. For Senſe it ſelf ſhews which way, the Beaſt is fled by his Tracks and Foot-ſteps, bidding farewel to disjunctive and copulate Axioms; and the Nature of Dogs is palpably to be diſcern'd by many other Actions, Affections and dutiful Service, neither the effects of hearing or ſeeing, but only practicable by Reaſon and Underſtanding. It would be ridiculous for me to diſcourſe the Continence, Obedience and Induſtry of Dogs in Hunting, to you that are ſo well confirm'd in the knowledge of thoſe things by daily Experience and Practice.

There was a certain *Roman* ſlain in the Civil Wars, whoſe Head no body durſt cut of, before they kill'd the Dog that guarded his body and fought in defence of his Maſter. It happen'd that King *Pyrrhus* Travailing that way, lit upon the Dog watching over the Carkaſs of the Perſon ſlain, and hearing that the Dog had been there three days without meat or drink, yet would not forſake his dead Maſter, ordered the Man to be buried, but that the Dog ſhould be preſerv'd and brought to him. A few days after there was a Muſter of the Souldiers, ſo that they were forc'd to march all in Order by the King with the Dog quietly lying by him for a good while. But when he ſaw the Murtherers of his Maſter paſs by him, he flew upon 'em with a more than

than ordinary fury, barking and baying, and tearing his Throat, and ever and anon turning about to the King; which did not only increaſe the Kings ſuſpition, but the jealouſie of all that ſtood about him. Upon which the Men were preſently apprehended, and though the Circumſtances were very ſlight which otherwiſe appear'd againſt them, yet they confeſs'd the Fact, and were Executed.

The ſame thing is reported to have been done by a Dog that belong'd to *Heſiod*, Sir-named the *Wiſe*, which diſcover'd the Sons of *Ganychtor* the *Naucletian*, by whom *Heſiod* was Murther'd, but that which came to the knowledge of our Parents, when they were Students at *Athens* is yet more evident than any thing we have ſaid. For a certain Perſon getting into the Temple of *Æſculapius*, after he had ſtolen all the Maſſy Offerings of Gold and Silver, made his eſcape, not believing he was diſcover'd. But as the Dog that belong'd to the Temple who was call'd *Cipparas*, when he found that none of the *Sacriſtanes* took any notice of his barking, purſu'd himſelf the Sacrilegious Theif; and though at firſt the Fellow paulted him with ſtones, he could not beat him off. So ſoon as it was day, the Dog ſtill follow'd him tho' at ſuch a diſtance, that he always kept him in his Eyes: When the Fellow threw him Meat he refus'd it; when the Thief went to Bed, the Dog watch'd at his door, and when he roſe in the Morning, the Dog ſtill follow'd him, fawning upon the Paſſengers on the Road, but ſtill barking and baying at the Heels of the Thief. Theſe things when they who were in purſuit of the Sacrilegious Perſon heard, and were told withal by thoſe they met the colour and bigneſs of the Dog, they were the more vigorous in the purſuit, and by that means overtaking the Thief, brought him back from *Cromyon*, while the Dog ran before leaping and capering, and full of joy, as it were challenging to himſelf the praiſe and reward of apprehending the Temple-robber. And indeed the *Athenians* were ſo grateful to him, that they decreed him ſuch a quantity of Meat to be publickly meaſur'd to him, and

order'd

order'd the Prieſts to take care to ſee it done; in imitation of the Kindneſs of the Ancient *Athenians* to reward the Mule.

For when *Pericles* built the Temple *Hecatonpedon* in the *Acropol* or Tower of *Athens*, it ſo fell out that the ſtones were to be fetch'd every day many furlongs off, and a world of Carriages were made uſe of for that purpoſe. Among the reſt of the Mules that labour'd hard in this employment, there was one that though diſmiſs'd by reaſon of Age, wou'd ſtill go down to the *Keramicon* and meeting the Carts that brought the Stones, would be always in their Company running by their ſides, as it were by the way of Encouragement and to excite them to work chearfully. So that the People admiring the Zeal of the Mule, order'd him to be fed at the publick charge, as they were wont to decree publick Almes to the ſuperannuated Wreſtlers.

And therefore they who deny that there is nothing of Juſtice due from us towards dumb Animals, may be ſaid to ſpeak true, ſo far as concerns them that Live in the Sea and haunt the Abyſſes of the Deep. For thoſe Kind of Creatures are altogether unſociable, without affection for their Young Ones, void of all ſoftneſs of diſpoſition; and therefore it was well ſaid of *Homer* ſpeaking to a Perſon whom he look'd upon as a meer Savage,

But as for thee, ſo little worth,
The green ey'd Sea did bring thee forth.

In regard the Sea brings forth nothing friendly, nothing manſuete or gentle. But he that uſes the ſame Diſcourſe and Arguments againſt Land-Animals is himſelf a Brute and Savage Creature. Unleſs any Man will affirm that there was nothing of Juſtice due from *Lyſimachus* to the *Hyrcanian* Dog, that would not ſtir from the Body of his Deceaſed Maſter, and when he ſaw his Maſters Carkeſs burning, ran and threw himſelf into the Flames. The ſame is reported to have been done by a Dog that was kept by one *Pyrrhus*, not the King, but a private Perſon of that Name. For upon

upon the death of his Maſter, he would not ſtir from the Body, but when it was carry'd forth leap'd upon the Beer, and at length threw himſelf into the Funeral Pile and was burnt alive with his Maſters Body.

The Elephant alſo which carry'd King *Porus*, when the King was wounded in the Battle againſt *Alexander*, pull'd out ſeveral Darts out of his Wounds with his *Proboſcis*, with no leſs tenderneſs and care then the Chyrurgeon could have done; and though the Elephant himſelf were but in a very bad condition, yet would he not lie down, till he perceiv'd the King all over of a goar Blood ready to ſink; and then fearing leaſt the King ſhould fall, he ſtoop'd down gently, to eaſe the King in ſliding to the Ground.

Such was the Humor of *Bucephalus*, who before he was accouter'd, would ſuffer his Groom to back him, but when he had all his Royal Trappings and *Houſſings* about him, would permit no Body but *Alexander* to beſtride him. But if any other Perſons approach'd him in curioſity to try what they could do, he encounter'd 'em open-mouth'd, and neighing out his fury, leap'd upon their Shoulders, bore 'em down, and trampl'd 'em under his Feet, unleſs prevented by keeping at a diſtance, or by ſpeedy flight.

Nor am I ignorant but that there is ſomething of Variety in every one of theſe Examples, which you muſt acknowledge. And indeed it is not eaſie to find out the natural Dexterity of any one ingenious and docible Animal, which is not accompany'd with more than one ſingle vertue. Thus where there is Affection toward their Young ones, there is deſire of Praiſe: Where there is generoſity, there is alſo moderation of Anger. Cunning likewiſe and Undetſtanding are rarely parted from daring Boldneſs and Fortitude. But as for thoſe that rather chuſe to divide and diſtinguiſh every one of theſe vertues particularly themſelves, they ſhall find in Dogs a fair demonſtration of a gentle and yet lofty Mind at the ſame time, in turning away from ſuch as ſit quietly upon the ground; According to that of *Homer*,

With

With hideous noiſe the Dogs upon him flew,
But ſly Ulyſſes *who the danger knew,*
Sate huſht and ſtill, and from his Royal hand
His Scepter dropt, as uſeleſs in command.

For Dogs never bite nor worry thoſe that proſtrate themſelves at their Mercy, and put on a face of Humility. Thus they ſay the braveſt of thoſe *Indian* Dogs that fought againſt *Alexander*, never ſtir'd or ſo much as lookt about them upon the letting loſe of a Hart, a Boar, and a Bear, but when they ſaw a Lion, then they began to rouſe, to ſhake and prepare themſelves for the Combat. By which it was plain that they only thought the Lion an Antagoniſt worthy of their courage, but deſpis'd all the reſt as below their anger.

Your Hounds that uſually hunt Hares, if they kill the Hares themſelves, take great delight in tearing them to pieces, and lapping up the Blood. But if the Hare, deſparing of her Life, as many times it happens, runs her ſelf to death, the Hounds finding her dead, will never touch her, but ſtand wagging their Tails, as if they did hunt not ſo much for the love of the Food, as for Victory and Triumphs ſake.

There are many Examples of cunning and ſubtilty abounding in Land Creatures, but to omit Slights and Artifices of Foxes, Cranes and Jack-daws, of which I ſhall ſay nothing, becauſe they are things already ſo well known, I ſhall make uſe of the Teſtimony of *Thales*, the ancienteſt of our Philoſophers, who is reported to have chiefly admir'd the moſt excellent in any Art or Cunning.

A certain Mule that was wont to carry Salt, in fording a River, by accident happen'd to ſtumble, by which means the Water melting away the Salt, when the Mule roſe again, he felt himſelf much lighter; the Cauſe of which the Mule was very ſenſible of, and laid it up in his Memory; inſomuch that every time he forded the ſame River, he would always ſtoop when he came into the deepeſt part, and fill his Veſſels with Water, crouching down and leaning ſometimes to one ſide, ſometimes to another: *Thales* hearing this, order'd

the

the Veſſels to be well fill'd with Wooll and Spunges, and to drive the Mule laden after that manner. But then the Mule, as he was wont, filling his burthens with Water, reaſon'd with himſelf, that he had ill conſulted his own benefit, and ever afterwards, when he forded the ſame River, was ſo careful and cautious, that by his good will he would never ſuffer his Burthens ſo much as to touch the Water.

Another Piece of Cunning joyn'd with an extraordinary Affection to their Young ones is to be obſerv'd in Pratridges, which inſtruct their Young ones, 'ere they are able to flie, when they are purſu'd by the Fowlers, to lay themſelves upon their Backs, their Breaſts cover'd with ſome clod of Earth, or little heap of Dirt, conglomerated, as it were, like a Ball. On the other ſide, the old Patridges do deceive the Fowlers and draw them quite a contrary way, make ſhort flights from one place to another, thereby inticing the Fowlers to follow them, till thus allur'd from their Young ones, the Fowlers gives over all hopes of being Maſters of their Game.

In like manner *Hares* returning to their *Forms*, diſpoſe their Leverets one to one place another to another, at the diſtance many times of an Acre of ground; ſo that upon the tracing either of Men or Hounds, they are ſure not to be all in danger at one time; themſelves in the mean time not eaſie to be track'd, by reaſon of the various windings and turnings which they make, and at length by giving a large leap diſcontinue the print of their Feet, and ſo betake themſelves to their reſt.

A Baer when ſhe perceives her ſelf overgrown with Fat, before ſhe grows ſtiff and unwieldly, cleanſes the place where ſhe intends to conceal her ſelf, and in her paſſage thither, lifts up her Paws as high as ſhe can, and treads upon the Ground with the top of her Toes, and at length turning her ſelf upon her back throws her ſelf into her Receptacle.

Your Hinds generally calve at a diſtance from all places frequented by Fleſh-devouring Beaſts, and Stags when they find themſelves unwieldy through ſurpluſage

ſage of Fleſh and Fat, get out of the way and hide themſelves, hoping to ſecure themſelves by lurking, when they dare not truſt to their Heels.

The means by which the Land Hedge-hogs defend and guard themſelves occaſion'd the Proverb,

Many ſlye tricks the ſuttle Reynard knows,
But one the Hedge-hog greater than all thoſe.

For the Hedge-hog, as they report, when he ſpies the Fox coming,

Round as a Pine Nut, or more Sphear-like Ball,
Lies with his Body paliſaded all,
With pointed Thorns, which all the Foxes ſlight
Can find no way to touch, much leſs to bite.

But the Proviſion which the Hedge-hogs make for their Young Ones is much more ingenious. For when Autumn comes, they creep under the Mines, and ſhake off the Grapes with their Feet; which done they roul themſelves up and down and take them up with their prickles, ſo that when they creep away again, you would think it a walking cluſter (and this we have lookt on and ſeen them do) after which returning to their Holes they lay themſelves down for their Young Ones to feed. Their Holes have two openings, one to the *South*, the other to the *North*. So that when they perceive the Alteration of the Air, like *Pilots* ſhifting their Sails they ſtop up that which lyes to the Wind and open the other. Which a certain Perſon that liv'd at *Cyzycum* obſerving, took upon him from thence at any time to tell in what corner the Wind would ſit.

As for Love and Obſervance of Society joyn'd with Underſtanding and Prudence, *Juba* produces many Examples of it in Elephants. For it is the uſual practiſe of the Elephant-Hunters to dig large Pits in the Elephants Walks, and cover 'em ſlightly over with dry twigs or other materials; into which if any Elephant happens to fall, the reſt fetch Wood and Stones to fill up the cavity of the Pit, that the other may the more eaſily get out again. And ſome report of the Elephants, that they make Prayers to the Gods by natu

ral Inſtinct, that they perform divine Ceremonies to the Sea, and worſhip the riſing Sun, lifting up their *Proboſciſes* to Heaven inſtead of Hands. For which reaſon they are Creatures the moſt belov'd of any by the Gods, as *Ptolomy Philopator* teſtified. For having vanquiſh'd *Antiochus*, and being deſirous to pay a more than ordinary Honour to the Deity among many other Oblations of Thankſgivings for his Victory he ſacrific'd four Elephants. After which being terrify'd with a Dream, which threatned him with the Wrath of the Deity for that prodigious Sacrifice, he ſought out ſeveral ways to expiate his offence, and among the reſt by way of propitiation, he erected four Elephants of Braſs to attone for the four Elephants he had ſlaughtered.

Examples not inferior of the obſervance of Society are to be found among Lyons. For the younger carry forth the ſlow and aged when they hunt abroad for their Prey. When the old ones are weary and tyr'd, they reſt and ſtay for the younger that hunt on; who when they have ſeiz'd upon any thing, call to the Old ones, making a noiſe like the bleating of a Calf; they preſently hear, and ſo meeting all together, they feed in common upon the Prey.

In the Amours of many Animals there is much variety; ſome are furious and mad; others obſerve a kind of human Decency, and tricking of themſelves to ſet off their Beauty, not without a Courtly kind of Converſation. Such was the Amour of the Elephant at *Alexandria*, that rival'd *Ariſtophanes* the Grammarian. For they were both in love with a Virgin that ſold Garlands; nor was the Elephants Courtſhip leſs conſpicuous than the others. For as he paſſed through the Fruit Market, he always brought her Apples, and ſtay'd with her for ſome time, and thruſting his *Proboſcis* within her Waſtcoat, inſtead of his hand, took great delight in gently feeling her Breaſts.

No leſs remarkable was the Dragon in Love with the *Etolian* Woman. He came to her in the Night, and getting under her Garments to her very Skin, embrac'd her

her naked Body; and never either willingly or unwillingly did her any harm; but always about break of day departed; which the Kindred of the Woman obſerving to be the common cuſtom of the Dragon, remov'd her a great way off. After that, the Dragon came not again for three or four days together, being all the while, as it ſeem'd, wandring about in ſearch of her: But at length having with much ado found her out, he did not approach her with that mildneſs as he was wont to do, but after a rougher manner; with the Folds of his Body having firſt bound her Hands and Arms, with the end of his Tayl he laſh'd the Calves of her Legs; expreſſing thereby a gentle and loving anger, which had more in it of indulgent expoſtulation then puniſhment.

I ſay nothing of a Gooſe in *Egypt* in Love with a Boy; nor of the Ram in Love with *Glauce* that play'd on the Harp; For the Story is in all Peoples Mouths, and beſides, I am apt to think you are ſatiated with Examples of this Nature.

But as for Starlings, Magpies, and Parrets, that learn no talk, and afford their Teachers ſuch a Spirit of Voice, ſo well temper'd and ſo adapted for imitation, they ſeem to me to patronize and defend the reſt of the Creatures by their Talent of learning what they are taught; and in ſome meaſure to teach us, that thoſe Creatures alſo, as well as they, partake of vocal expreſſion and articulate Sound. From whence I conclude it a moſt ridiculous thing in them, that would compare theſe Creatures with a ſort of Mute Animals, I mean the Fiſh, that have not voice enough to howle or make a mournful noiſe. Whereas in the natural and untaught Notes of theſe Creatures what Muſic, what a charming Grace do we obſerve? To which the famous Poets, and choiceſt Singers among Men bear Teſtimony; while they compare their ſweeteſt Odes and Poems to the Singing of Swans and Melody of Nightingales: Now in regard there is more of reaſon in Teaching than in Learning, we are to believe *Ariſtotle*, who aſſures us that Terreſtrial Animals do

that

that likewiſe; in regard that Nightingales have been obſerv'd inſtructing their young Ones to Sing. Of which this may be a ſufficient Proof, that ſuch Nightingales are known to ſing worſe, that are taken very young from the Neſt, and depriv'd of the Education of the Old One. For they both learn and are taught from the Old one, not for hire, or to get Reputation, but meerly out of a delight in mixing their Notes together, and becauſe they have a greater love for that which is excellent and curious in the Voice, than what is profitable. Concerning which I have a Story to tell you, which I heard from ſeveral *Greeks* and *Latins* who were eye-Witneſſes of the thing.

A certain Barber in *Rome*, who had a Shop right againſt the Temple, which is call'd the *Greek's* Market, bred in his Houſe a kind of a Prodigy of a Magpy, whoſe Tongue would be always going with the greateſt Variety imaginable, ſometimes imitating human Speech, ſometimes chattering her Wild Notes, and ſometimes humoring the Sounds of Wind Inſtruments, neither, was this by any conſtraint, but as ſhe accuſtom'd her ſelf, with a more than ordinary Ambition to leave nothing unſpoken, nothing that her Imitation ſhould not maſter.

It happen'd, a certain Perſon of the wealthier ſort, and newly dead in the Neighbour-hood, was carry'd forth to be buried with a great Number of Trumpets before him. Now in regard it was the cuſtom of the Bearers to reſt themſelves before the Barbors-ſhop, the Trumpeters being Excellent in their Art, and withal commanded ſo to do, made a long ſtop, Sounding all the while.

After that day the Magpye was altogether mute, not ſo much as uttering her uſual Notes by which ſhe call'd for what ſhe wanted, inſomuch that they who before admir'd as they paſs'd to and fro at the chattering and prating of the Bird, now much more wonder'd at her ſuddain ſilence; and many ſuſpected her to have been Poyſon'd by ſome that affected peculiar skill in teaching thoſe kind of Birds. But the Greateſt Number

were of Opinion that the noiſe of the Trumpets had ſtupify'd her hearing, and that by the loſs of her hearing the Uſe of her Voice was likewiſe extinguiſh'd; But the cauſe of her unuſual ſilence proceeds from neither of theſe Effects, but from her retiring to privacy by her ſelf to exerciſe the imitation of what ſhe had heard, and to fit and prepare her Voice as the Inſtrument to expreſs what ſhe had learnt. For ſoon after ſhe came of a ſudden to ſight again, but had quitted all her former cuſtomary Imitations, but only Sounded the Muſick of the Trumpets, obſerving all the Changes and Cadences of the Harmony with that exactneſs of time, as was not to be imagin'd: An Argument, as I have ſaid before, of a more rational aptneſs in thoſe Creatures to learn of themſelves, then from the Inſtructions of a teacher, Nor do I think it proper to paſs by in ſilence one wonderful Example of the Docility of a Dog, of which I my ſelf was a Spectator in *Rome*. This Dog belong'd to a certain *Mimick* who at that time had the management of a *Farce*, wherein there was great variety of Parts, which he undertook to inſtruct the Actors to perform, and ſeveral Imitations proper for the matters and paſſions therein repreſented. Among the reſt there was one who was to drink a ſleepy Potion, and after he had drank it, to fall into a deadly drowſineſs, and counterfeit the Actions of a dying Perſon. The Dog, who had ſtudy'd ſeveral of the other Geſtures and Poſtures, more diligently obſerving this, took a piece of Bread that was ſopt in the Potion, and after he had eat it, in a ſhort time counterfeited a trembling, then a ſtaggering, and afterwards a drowſineſs in his Head: Then ſtretching out himſelf, he lay as if he had been dead; and ſeem'd to proffer himſelf to be drag'd out of the Place and carry'd to Burial, as the Plot of the Play required. Afterwards underſtanding the time from what was ſaid and acted, in the firſt place he began gently to ſtir, as it were waking out of a profound ſleep, and lifting up his Head, he gaz'd about him: Afterwards to the amazment of the Beholders, he roſe up, and lifting

lifting up his Head, he gaz'd about him: Afterwards to the amazement of the Beholders, he roſe up and went to his Maſter to whom he belong'd with all the ſigns of gladneſs and fawning kindneſs, inſomuch that all the Spectators, and even *Cæſar* himſelf, for old *Veſpaſian* was preſent in *Marcellus*'s Theatre, were taken with the ſight.

But perhaps we may ſeem ridiculous, for ſignalizing Beaſts in this manner, becauſe they learn, though with little reaſon, ſince we find that *Democritus* affirms us to have been their Scholars in greateſt matters. Of the Spider, for weaving and repairing what we tear or wear out. Of the Swallow, for building Houſes and of the mournful Swan and Nightingale, for ſinging and imitation of their Notes. Moreover in others we obſerve a Threefold Practice of Phyſick, both natural and inbred. For Tortoiſes make uſe of *Baſil*, and Weaſels eat Rue, when they have devour'd a Serpent: and Dogs purge themſelves from abounding Choller with a certain ſort of Graſs: The Dragon quickens the dimneſs of his ſight with Fennel, and the Bear coming forth of her Cave, after long emaciation, feeds upon wild *Dragons*; for the acrimony of that Herb opens and ſeparates her Guts when clung together. At other times, being overcloy'd with Food, ſhe repairs to the Emmet-Hills, and thruſting forth her Tongue all ſoft and unctuous by reaſon of the ſweet kind of ſlime that all beſmears it, 'till it be crowded with Emmets, at length ſwallows them down her Throat, and ſo recovers. And it is reported that the *Egyptians* obſerve and imitate the Bird call'd *Ibis*, in purging and cleanſing her Bowels with the briny Sea-water. For which reaſon, the Prieſts, when they hallow themſelves, make uſe of the Water of which the *Ibis* has drank: For that thoſe Birds will not drink the Water, if it be Medicinal, or otherwiſe infected. Some Beaſts there are that cure themſelves by Abſtinence, as Wolves and Lions, who when they are gorg'd with Fleſh, lie ſtill and digeſt their Crudities by the warmth of one anothers Bodies. It is reported alſo of the Tyger, that if a Kid be thrown

to her, ſhe will not eat in two days; but growing almoſt famiſh'd the third day, if ſhe be not ſupply'd with another, ſhe will tear down the Cage that holds her, if ſhe have ſtrength enough; yet all this while ſhe will not meddle with the firſt Kid, as being her Companion and fellow Houſe-keeper.

More then this, the Elephants are ſaid to make uſe of Chirurgery; for that being brought to Perſons wounded, they will draw forth the Heads of Spears and Arrows out of their Bodies with little pain, and without dilacerating and mangling the Fleſh.

The *Cretan* Goats, which by eating Dittany expel the Arrows ſhot into their Bodies, taught Women with Child to underſtand the vertue of that Herb ſo prevalent to expel the Birth. For thoſe Goats being wounded, ſeek no other cure, but preſently ſeek out and hunt for Dittany.

But theſe things, though wonderful, are not ſo much to be admir'd, as are thoſe Beaſts that underſtand the uſe of numbers, and will reckon on ſuch a Proportion; like the Oxen about *Suſa*. For there are Oxen in that place that Water the King's Gardens with portable Buckets, of which the number is fix'd: For every Ox carries a hundred Buckets every day, and more you cannot force them to take or carry, would you never ſo fain; inſomuch that when conſtraint has been us'd, for experiments ſake, nothing could make them ſtir, after they had carri'd their full number: Such an accurate account do they take, and preſerve the ſame in their Memory; as *Ktetias* the *Gnidian* relates.

The *Lybians* deride the *Egyptians* for the Fables which they report of the *Oryx*, * which, as they ſay, makes a great noiſe upon the ſame day, at the very hour when the Dog-ſtar, which they call *Sothes*, riſes. However this is certain, that all their Goats, when that Star riſes truly with the Sun, turn themſelves and ſtand gazing toward the *Eaſt*; which is a moſt unqueſtionable Argument of that Stars having finiſh'd its courſe, and chiefly acknowledg'd

* *A certain Beaſt reſembling a Goat in colour.*

ledg'd for ſuch, among the Aſtronomers Obſervations.

But that my diſcourſe may draw to a Concluſion, let us add ſomething concerning the Divinity and Prophetick nature, with which our Terreſtrial Creatures are endu'd. Which when we conſider, we ſhall find, that that ſame part of Southſaying, which is founded upon the obſervation of Birds, is not the meaneſt or moſt ignoble, but very ancient, and in great eſteem. For the ſmartneſs and intelligible facuity of Birds, together with their capability to receive all impreſſions of Fancy, afford the Deity a Convenience to make uſe of thoſe faculties as Inſtruments, to turn them into Motion, into Sounds, Chirpings and Forms, ſometimes immoveable, ſometimes fix'd, ſometimes volatile like the Winds, by means of ſome of theſe ſtopping ſhort, by the means of others directing to their end, the Actions and impetuous Impulſes of Men. Therefore *Euripides* in general, calls Birds the *Cryers of the Gods*; and particularly *Socrates* ſtiles himſelf a fellow-Servant with the *Swans*. As among Princes, *Pyrrus* was pleas'd with the *Sir-name* of *Eagle*; and *Antiochus* lov'd to be call'd *Antiochus* the *Falcon*: But they who deride Men inſipid and void of Ingenuity, call them by the Names of Fiſh. And whereas we can produce millions of things and Accidents, which are foretold us by Land and flying Creatures, there is not any one ſuch Example, that the Patrons of Water-Animals can produce in their behalf; but being all void of hearing, perfectly ſottiſh, and without any ſight or diſcerning of Providence, they are all thrown apart into that ſame place, unbleſt and hideous, call'd the Sea, as it were into the Region of the Ungodly, where the rational and intellectual part of the Soul, is extinguiſh'd; only being animated with ſome diminutive portion, the loweſt that may be imagin'd, of a confus'd and overwhelm'd Senſe, they rather ſeem to palpitate them breath.

Then *Heracleo*, Prepare thy ſelf Friend *Phædimus*; after all this, 'tis time to rowſe thy ſelf in the defence of the *Iſlanders* and others that live by the Sea-ſide. For this has been no frivolous Diſcourſe, but a hard-fought

Conteſt, and a continu'd piece of Rhetoric that wonted only Lattices and a Pulpit to give it the Honour it deſerv'd.

Phoedimus. Therefore you ſee, 'tis plain here has been foul Play and Treachery in the Caſe; for a Perſon ſober and upon Premeditation, to ſet upon us when we were Stomach ſick, and doz'd with our laſt Nights Compotation. But there is no way to avoid the Combat; for that being an Imitator of *Pindar* it ſhall never be ſaid of me,

Combats refus'd, when nobly ſet upon,
Have Vertue into deepeſt darkneſs thrown.

For we have leiſure enough, as having not only allow'd our ſelves a vacation from Jollity and Balls, but our Hounds and Horſes a relaxation from their Labours; and withal having hung up our drag Nets and Spears, as having alſo this day granted, for Diſputations ſake, a general Truce to all Creatures, as well upon the Land as in the Sea. However, fear not; for I will uſe it moderately, without producing either the Opinions of Philoſophers, or the Fables of the *Egyptians*, or the Relations either of the *Indians* or *Lybians* wanting Teſtimony; but ſuch as ſhall be verifi'd by good Witneſſes, ſuch as have made it their buſineſs to toil upon the Ocean, and gave Credit to their Eyes. For to ſay truth there is not any one of thoſe Examples which are produc'd from the Land, which do not confirm their Hiſtories, as being manifeſted to Senſe: Whereas the Sea affords but few but what are difficult to be diſcern'd. The Sea concealing the Generation and Nouriſhment of moſt of her Creatures, their Antipathies, and ways of preſerving themſelves. In reference to which many Acts of their Underſtanding, Memory and Community being unknown to us, is the reaſon that we cannot be ſo copious in our Diſcourſe. Then again, Land-Animals, by reaſon of their familiarity and cohabitation, being in ſome meaſure accuſtom'd to the Conditions of Men, become capable of their Nurtriture, Education and Imitation; which ſweetens and allays all their Acerbity and Moroſneſs, like the mix-

ture

ture of Freſh-water with Sea-brine; and awakening that which is ſlow and diſorderly in them, inflames it with humane Motions. Whereas the living of Sea-Animals being by many degrees remote from the Converſe of Men, and having nothing adventitious, or that may be ſaid to be acquir'd by Cuſtom and familiarity, is altogether peculiar, genuine and unmix'd with Manners, ſtrange and foreign to them; which proceeds either from Nature, or the Place it ſelf. For Nature receiving and cheriſhing whatever Knowledge comes to her ſelf, affords it alſo to Fiſh, and makes many *Eeles* tame and familiar to Men; which for that reaſon are call'd Sacred, like thoſe in the River *Arethuſe*; ſo that in many Places there are Fiſh that will hear and obey when call'd by their Names; as the ſtory goes of *Craſſus*'s Mullet, upon the Death of which he wept. For which when *Domitius* twitted him in theſe words, *Did not you weep when your Mullet died?* He retorted upon him again, *Did you bury three Wives and never wept at all?* The Crocodiles belonging to the Prieſts, not only know the Voices of thoſe that call them, and ſuffer themſelves to be ſtrok'd and handl'd, but gaping, hold out their Teeth to be cleans'd and wip'd by the hands of the Prieſts.

Lately *Philinus*, after he had been long travelling in *Egypt*, returning to us, told us how he ſaw in the City, which derives its name from *Anteus*, an old Woman ſleeping by the ſide of a *Crocodile* upon a low ſoft Bed well and decently dreſs'd up.

In Ancient Hiſtories we find that when King *Ptolomy* call'd the Sacred Crocodile, and that the Crocodile neither vouchſafed to appear at his call, nor would anſwer to the earneſt Expoſtulations of the Prieſts, it was lookt upon as a Prognoſtication of the Death of the King, which happen'd ſoon after. Which ſhews that the Race of Water-Animals is neither without a ſhare of that ineſtimable thing call'd Prophetick Signification, nor undeſerving thoſe Honours aſcrib'd to Land Creatures. For that about *Sura*, which is a Village in *Lycia* between *Phellus* and *Myro*, I have heard it credibly re-

ported, that there are certain Perſons who make it their buſineſs to watch the flights and purſuits of the Fiſh, and from thence by a certain Art which they have, they gather Predictions, as others, from the Obſervation of Birds. But let theſe Examples ſuffice to ſhew, that Fiſh are not altogether Strangers to Mankind, nor altogether void of humane Affection.

But for a great and common Demonſtration of their unmixt and natural Underſtanding, we find that there is not any Fiſh that ſwims, unleſs they be ſuch as ſtick and cling to the Rocks, which are ſo eaſily taken by Men, as Aſſes are ſeiz'd by Wolves, Bees by Black-birds, Graſhoppers by Swallows, Serpents by Harts; which are therefore called *Elaphoi*, not from their Swiftneſs, but from a Faculty which they have of drawing Serpents to them by the force of their Breath. Or as Sheep call the Wolf by the ſound of their Feet; or as the Panther allures to her Paws, both Apes, and other Creature, by the fragrant ſmell of her Body. But ſo ſuſpicious is the Senſe of all Water-Animals, and ſo watchful are they to avoid all Baits and Treacheries againſt them, by reaſon of their extraordinary Cunning, that Fiſhing thereby becomes no eaſy, or ſingle Labour, but a Toil that requires various Inſtruments, and many Tricks of humane Cunning and Deceit; and this is apparent from Examples near at hand: For no Man deſires an *Angling-Rod* too thick, tho' ſtrong enough to hold againſt the twitches of the Fiſh when taken; but rather they require it ſlender, leſt by caſting too great a ſhadow upon the Water, they ſhould frighten the ſuſpicious Creature. In the next place, they never knit too many knots in the Line but make it as ſmooth as may be, for that would too much diſcover the Deceit; and then for the Hairs which are next the Hook, they endeavour to get the whiteſt they can meet with; for ſo, by reaſon of the likeneſs of Colour, they lye the more eaſily concealed in the Water. Therefore ſome there are, who expounding the following Verſes of *Homer*,

This to the bottom quickly ſinks, like Lead,
And drawing down the Curles of the Bulls Head,
While thus the ſecret Baits concealed lie,
Makes deadly havock 'mong the Ravenous Frye.

believe that the Ancients made uſe of Bulls Hair for their Lines with which they angl'd; alledging that *Keras* then ſignifi'd Hair, from whence *Keiraſthai* to be ſhav'd, and *Kura*, ſhaving; and that *Keroplaſtes* in *Archilochus*, ſignifi'd a *Barber*. But this is an Error. For they made uſe of Horſe-Hair, more eſpecially that of Stone-Horſes. For Mares by moiſtning their Tails with their Urine, render the Hair weak and brittle. Tho' *Ariſtotle* will not allow any thing to be ſaid in all this, that ſhew'd any ſuch extraordinary ſubtilty in Men. Only he ſays, that the lower piece of the Line was fortifi'd with a little hollow piece of Horn, which the Fiſh ſwallow'd before they could come at any thing elſe. Moreover that they made uſe of round Hooks to catch *Mullets* and *Tunies*, in regard they had but ſmall Mouths, for that they were afraid of a ſtrait Hook. He alſo further ſays, that the Mullet many times ſuſpecting the round Hook, will ſwim round about it, flapping the Bait with his Tail, and then turning round, ſecures to himſelf ſo much as he has broken off. Or if he cannot do that, he ſhuts his Mouth cloſe, and with the extremities of his Lips, nibbles off ſome part of the Bait.

The Fiſh call'd *Labrax* behaves himſelf more ſtoutly then the Elephant; for when he perceives himſelf ſtruck with the Hook, without aſſiſtance he ſets himſelf at liberty, widening the Wound by flinging his Head to and fro, and enduring the painful Twingings of the Hook, 'till he have freed himſelf from it with the loſs of his Fleſh. The Sea-Fox, or the Fiſh call'd *Alopex* ſeldom bites, but avoids the Deceit; for if he chance to be taken, preſently turns the inſide of his Body outward. For by reaſon of the ſtrength and moiſture of his Body, he has a peculiar faculty to turn it ſo, that the inſide coming to be outermoſt, the Hook falls off. Theſe things demonſtrate underſtanding, and a ſubtle and extraordina-

extraordinary uſe of it in the nick and Juncture of time.

Other examples there are, which ſhew not only this ſame underſtanding and knowledge, but the community and mutual Affection of Fiſh. Thus if one *Scate* happen to ſwallow the Hook, all the reſt of the *Scates* that are in the ſame ſhoal, preſently croud together, and bite the Line in pieces. The ſame *Scates*, if any of their Companions fall into the Net, give the Priſoners their Tails to take hold of with their Teeth, and ſo draw them forth by main force.

But the Fiſh call'd *Anthia* with far more courage aſſiſts their Fellows in diſtreſs. For getting under the Meſhes with their Backs, and ſetting up their Finns, they never leave 'till they have ſaw'd them in two.

Now we know no Land-Animal that will aſſiſt and defend his Kind in danger; neither the Bear, nor the wild Boar, nor the *Leæna*, nor the Panther; true it is, that when they are in Herds together, they will gather into a Circle, and defend each other in Common; but no ſingle Land-Animal either knows or cares to aſſiſt a ſingle Companion, but flies and ſhifts for himſelf as far off as he can, from the Beaſt that is wounded and lies a dying. For as for that ſame ſtory of Elephants filling up the Ditches with heaps of adjoyning Materials, whether Wood or Earth, for the unfortunate Elephant the mare eaſily to get up again, it is ſo extreamly uncouth and foreign to us, as if we were bound to believe *Juba*'s Books by vertue of a Royal Edict. However if it were true, it does but ſerve to ſhew that many of the Marine Creatures are nothing inferior in Underſtanding and Community to the moſt intelligent of the Land-Animals. But as for their mutual Society, we ſhall diſcourſe apart of that by it ſelf.

Now the Fiſhermen obſerving how that moſt Fiſh avoided the caſts of their Hooks, by cunning or by ſtriving with the Tackling, betook themſelves to force, like the *Perſian* Hunters, making uſe of Nets, that there might be no eſcape for thoſe that were caught either by the help

help of reaſon or ſubtilty. Thus Mullets and the Fiſh call'd *Julides* are taken with Sweep-Nets and Drag-Nets, as are alſo ſeveral other ſorts of Fiſh call'd *Mormuri*, *Sargi*, *Gobii* and *Labraces*; thoſe that are call'd Caſting-Nets, catch the Mullet, the Gilthead and the Scorpion-Fiſh; and therefore *Homer* calls this ſort of Fiſhing with Nets, *Panagra*, or the *All-ſweeper*. And yet there are ſome Fiſh that are too cunning for theſe Nets.

Thus the *Labrax* or *Jack* perceiving the drawing of the Sweep-Net with the force of his Body beats a hollow place in the Mud, where he lays himſelf cloſe 'till the Net be gone over him.

But as for the *Dolphin*, when he finds himſelf taken, and in the midſt of the Net, he remains there without being in the leaſt perplext, but falls too with a great deal of Joy, and feaſts upon the numerous Fry within the Meſhes; but ſo ſoon as he comes near the ſhoar, he bites his way through the Net with his Teeth and ſwims away. Or if he chance to be taken, the Fiſhermen do him no other harm the firſt time, but only ſow a ſort of large Bulruſhes to the Finny Crown upon his Head, and ſo let him go. If they take him a ſecond time, they puniſh him with ſtripes, well knowing him again by the Prints of the Needle. But that rarely happens: For having got his Pardon the firſt time, for the moſt part of them, they acknowledge the favour, and abſtain from ſpoil for the future.

Moreover, among the many Examples that make evident the warineſs of Fiſh in avoiding the Deceits and Craft of the Fiſhermen, it would not be convenient to paſs by that of the *Cuttle-Fiſh*. For this Fiſh carrying in that part of his Head which is near his Neck call'd his Noſe, a certain black and inky ſort of Liquor, ſo ſoon as he perceives himſelf diſcover'd, throws that Liquor forth, and darkens all the Water round about him in ſuch a manner that the Fiſher-men loſing ſight of him, by that means, he makes his eſcape; imitating therein *Homers* Deities, who when they had a mind to ſave any of their Heroes, hid them in an Azure Cloud; but of this enough.

Now

Now for the extraordinary ſubtilty of Fiſh in hunting and catching their own Prey, we ſhall meet with ſeveral Examples of it in ſeveral Fiſh. Particularly the *Star-fiſh*, underſtanding his own nature to be ſuch, that whatever he touches diſſolves and liquifies, readily offers his Body, and permits himſelf to be touch'd by all that come near him.

You know your ſelf the property of the *Torpedo* or *Cramp-fiſh*, which not only benums all thoſe that touch it, but alſo ſtrikes a numbneſs through the very Net into the hands of them that go about to take him. And ſome that have had greater experience of this Fiſh, report, that if it happen to fall alive upon the Land, they that pour Water upon it, ſhall preſently perceive a numbneſs ſeizing upon their hands, and ſtupifying their feeling through the Water affected with the Quality of the Fiſh. And therefore having an innate Senſe of this faculty, it never makes any reſiſtance againſt any thing, nor ever is it in danger. Only ſwimming circularly about his Prey, ſhoots forth the Effluviums of his Nature like ſo many Darts, and firſt infects the Water, then the Fiſh through the Water, which is neither able to defend it ſelf, nor to eſcape, being, as it were, held in Chains, and frozen up.

The Fiſher-man is well known to many, who has his Name given him from his manner of catching Fiſh, whoſe Art as *Ariſtotle* writes, the Cuttle-Fiſh makes uſe of, for he lets down like a Line, a certain curle which nature has given him, ſo order'd as to let it run out at length, or draw it to him again, as he ſees occaſion. This, when he ſees any of the leſſer Fiſh approach, he offers them to bite, and then by degrees pulls the curle nearer and nearer by vertue of the Bait, 'till he has drawn his Prey within the reach of his Mouth. And as for the *Polypus*'s changing his colour, *Pindarus* has made it famous in theſe Words,

In any City may that Man expoſe
His ſafety, who well knows
Like Sea-bred Polypus *to range,*
And vary colour upon every Change.

In

In like manner *Theognis*,

Change manners with thy Friends, obſerving thus
The vary colour'd cunning Polypus;
Who let him ſtick to whatſoever rock,
Of the ſame colour does his Body look.

'Tis true the *Camaleon* changes colour, not out of any deſign, or to conceal himſelf, but out of fear, being naturally timorous and trembling at every noiſe he hears: And this is occaſion'd by the extraordinary abundance of breath which he enjoys, as *Theophraſtus* affirms. For the whole Body of this Creature wants but little of being nothing elſe but Lungs; which demonſtrates him to be full of Spirits, and conſequently apt to change. But this ſame change of the *Polypus* is no product of any affection of the Mind, but a kind of Action. For he changes on purpoſe, making uſe of this Artifice to eſcape what he fears, and to get the Food which he lives by. For by fraud he takes thoſe things that never avoid him, and avoids thoſe things that paſs him by, without taking any notice of him. For that he devours his own Curles, is an untruth; but that he is afraid of the *Lamprey* and *Conger* is certain: For by theſe he is ill treated, not being able to return them any Injury, by reaſon of their being ſo ſlippery; tho' on the other ſide the Lobſter having once got them within his Claws, holds them with eaſe: For ſlenderneſs affords no help againſt roughneſs: But when the *Polipus* comes to thruſt his Horns into the Body of the Lobſter, then alſo the Lobſter dies. And this ſame Viciſſitude of avoiding and purſuing one another, has nature infus'd into them on purpoſe to exerciſe their ſubtlety and underſtanding.

Then again we have heard *Ariſtotimus* relating how the Land Hedge-hog had a perception of the riſing of the Wind, and praiſing the Trigonal Flight of Cranes. But for my part, I produce no particular Hedge-hog of *Syzicum* or *Byzantium*, but all the Sea Hedge-hogs in general, who when they perceive a Storm a coming, ballaſt themſelves with little Stones,

leaſt

leaſt they ſhould be over-turn'd by reaſon of their lightneſs, or carri'd away by the rowling of the Waves, which they prevent by the weight of their little Stones.

On the other ſide the Cranes order in their flight againſt the Wind is not of one ſort; But this is a general Notion among all Fiſh, that they always ſwim againſt the Waves and the Tide, and always take care leaſt the Wind being in their Tails, ſhould force their Fins from their backs, and leave their naked Bodies expos'd to the Cold and other Inconveniencies; and therefore they ſtill oppoſe the Prows of their Bodies againſt the Waves. For that while they thus cleave the Waves at the top, the Sea keeps their Fins cloſe, and lightly flowing over the ſuperficies of their Bodies becomes leſs burthenſome, beſides that it ſuffers not their Scales to riſe,

This, I ſay, is common to all Fiſh, except that Fiſh which is call'd *Ellops*; which as they report always ſwims with the Wind and Tide, not minding the erection or opening of the Scales, the Commiſſures of which do not lie next the Tail, as in other Fiſh.

Moreover, the *Tunic* is ſo ſenſible of the *Equinoxes* and *Solſtices*, that they teach even Men themſelves without the help of any Aſtrological Table. For where the Winter Tropicks overtake them, there they remain till the *Vernal Equinox*.

As for that ſame Artifice of the Cranes, that keep themſelves waking by clutching a Stone in their Claws, how much more cunningly done is that of the Dolphin; for whom it is not lawful to ſtand ſtill or to be out of Motion: For it is the nature of the Dolphins to be always in Motion; ſo that when they ceaſe to move, they alſo ceaſe to live. And therefore when ſleep ſeizes them, they raiſe their Bodies to the ſuperficies of the Sea, and ſo ſinking down again with their Bellies upward, are carry'd along with the Tide till they touch again the Shoar. Waken'd in that manner, with an impetuous noiſe they mount upward again, deſigning thus a kind of reſt ſtill interminx'd with Motion,

tion. And the ſame thing is reported of the *Tunnies* for the ſame Reaſon.

Having thus concluded their Mathematical foreknowledge of the Mutations of the Sun, of which *Ariſtotle* gives Teſtimony, let me now relate their skill in *Arithmetick*; but firſt of all, their knowledge in Opticks, of which *Eſchilus* ſeems not to have been altogether ignorant. For theſe are his Words,

Caſting a Squint-eye, like the Tunny.

For Tunnies ſeem to be dim-ſighted of one Eye: And therefore they fling themſelves into the Water ſo as to have the Land upon the Right hand; and go a-ſhoar, ſo as to have it upon the Left: Prudently committing the care of their Bodies to the beſt Eye.

But wanting *Arithmetick*, in order to the Preſervation of mutual Love and Society one with another, they arriv'd in ſuch a manner to the perfection of that Science, that in regard they are extreamly deſirous to enjoy the Society of each other, they always make up their whole Fry into the Form of a *Cube*, and make a ſolid of the whole Number, conſiſting of ſix equal Planes: And then they ſwim in ſuch order as to obſerve a due *Plæſium* on both ſides. So then if the Obſerver of the Tunnies does but exactly take the Number of the *Plane*, he knows the whole Number of the ſhole; well knowing that the depth is equal to the breadth and length. The Fiſh *Amiæ*, which are another ſort of *Tunnies* are ſo call'd, becauſe they ſwim in ſholes, as alſo the *Pelamides* or Summer Whitings.

As for the reſt that are ſeen to ſwim in ſholes and to obſerve a mutual Society, their Number is not to be expreſs'd: And therefore let us proceed to thoſe that obſerve a kind of private and particular Society one with another. Among which is the *Pynnotheras* of *Chryſippus*, being a certain Fiſh that diligently obſerves and watches the Fiſh call'd the *Nacre*, upon which he has expended ſo much Ink, that he gives it the precedency in all his Books, both Phyſical and Ethical. For *Chryſippus* never knew the *Spongother*, or elſe he paſs'd it over out of negligence.

The

The *Pinnother* is ſo call'd from watching the ſhe Fiſh call'd *Pinna* or the *Nacre*, and in ſhape reſembles a Crab, and cohabiting within the *Nacre*, watches the opening of his Shell, and then going forth, ſtays by the open'd and gaping Shell, till he light upon ſome little Fiſh which he is able to conquer. Then entring the Shell again, he nips the Fleſh of the *Nacre*, to give him notice to ſhut his Shell; which being done, they feed together within the fortification upon the common Prey.

The Spunge is govern'd by a certain little Creature more like a Spider than a Crab. For the Spunge wants neither Senſe nor Blood; but growing to the Stones as many other things do, has a peculiar Motion from its ſelf, and to its ſelf, which nevertheleſs ſtands in need as it were of a Monitor or Inſtructor. For being otherwiſe of a Subſtance looſe and open, and full of holes and hollowneſs, by reaſon of the ſloth and ſtupidity of it, the *Spunge watcher* aſſiſts to give notice when any thing of Food enters the Cavities of it, at what time the Spunge contracts it ſelf, and falls to feeding.

But if a Man approach and touch it, being nipp'd and admoniſh'd by the *Spunge-watcher*, it ſeems to ſhadder and ſhut up the Body of it, cloſing and condenſing it in ſuch a manner, as makes it no eaſie thing to cut it from the place where it grows.

The *Purple Shell-fiſh* alſo, call'd *Prophyræ*, cluſtring together in a kind of Mutual Society, build up little Combs for themſelves like Bees wherein they are ſaid to generate: and culling out the choiceſt Subſtance of the Moſs and Sea-weed that ſtick to their Shells, they ſeem to be in a circular Commons among themſelves, feeding outwardly the one upon the others Nouriſhment.

But why ſhould we admire Society in theſe Creatures, when the moſt ſavage and moſt unſociable of all Creatures which either Lakes, Rivers, or the Ocean nouriſhes, the Crocodile, ſhews himſelf the moſt Sociable and Grateful of Water-Monſters in the Banquets which he beſtows upon the *Trochilus*: For the *Trochilus* is

is a ſort of Water-Fowl, and he Guards and Watches over the Crocodile, not as one that feeds at his Table, but lives upon his ſcraps and leavings only. For when this Bird obſerves the *Crocodile* aſleep, and the *Ichneumon* arm'd with mud and dirt ready to aſſail him, he never leaves crying and pecking him with his Beak, 'till he rouſe the drowſie Monſter. In return of which the Crocodile is ſo tame and gentle toward this Bird, that he permits him to enter his yawning chaps, and is pleas'd with his pecking out and cleaning away with his Beak the remainders of the devour'd Fleſh that ſticks between his Teeth. And when the Monſter has an Inclination to ſhut his Mouth, he gives the Bird notice by a gentle lowring of his Jaw, nor will he cloſe his Chaps till he finds that the Bird is flown away. The Fiſh which the *Greeks* call *Hegemon*, or the Captain or Leader, is a ſmall Fiſh, in bigneſs and ſhape not much unlike a *Whiting*, but by reaſon of the roughneſs of his Scales, is ſaid to reſemble a Bird when ſhe ſhakes her Feathers. This Fiſh always keeps Company with the hugeous Whales, and ſwims before them to direct their courſe leaſt they ſhould bruiſe themſelves upon the ſhallows, or fall into any marſhy Place, or narrow Haven, whence he could not eaſily get out again. Therefore the Whale follows him, as the Ship follows the Helm directing his courſe with confidence. All other things whatever, whether Skiff, whether Beaſt or Stone, that chance to light into the gaping Gulph of the Whale Mouth, immediately periſh, being ſwallow'd by the Monſter; but acknowledging his Conductor, he receives him and lodges him like an Anchor ſafely in his Jaws. There he ſleeps, and all the while he takes his reſt, the Whale lies ſtill, and when his Guide comes forth again, the Whale proceeds, never forſaking him night nor day; or if he wander without his Leader, the Monſter Ship-wracks, like a Veſſell caſt upon a Rock, without a Helm. And this we ſaw not far from *Anticyra*, where they report, that in former times a Whale being caſt, and putrifying caus'd a Peſtilence.

It is worth while then to compare the Obſervations of Community and Aſſociation with thoſe Sympathies which *Ariſtotle* relates between Foxes and Serpents, becauſe the Eagle is an Enemy to both? Or of the *Horn-Owles* with Horſes, whoſe dung they love to ſcrape about the field and neſtle in? For my part, I obſerve no ſuch care of one another in Bees and Emmets, which by reaſon of their multitude, carry on and perfect their work in common, but have no particular care or conſideration one of another. Rather we ſhall obſerve this difference more evidently, if we direct our diſcourſes upon the moſt Ancient and Greateſt Works of common Society, which are the works of generation and procreation of Off ſpring. For in the firſt place, thoſe Fiſh that frequent the ſhoars next adjoyning to vaſt Lakes or great Rivers, when they are near their time of bringing forth, retire up into thoſe places, ſeeking the freſh-waters which are more gentle and void of Brine. For Tranquility is moſt convenient for ſuch as bring forth and there is moſt ſafety in Rivers and Lakes for their Young Ones, as being freeſt from the devouring Monſters of the Sea. Which is the reaſon that there is the greateſt plenty of Fiſh about the *Euxian* Sea, where there are no Whales but either ſmall Sea-Calves, or little Dolphins. Beſides, the mixture of Rivers, many in number, and thoſe very large, that fall into the *Pontus*, make the mixture more kindly and proper for breeding, and bringing forth. And that is moſt wonderful which is reported of the *Anthias*, which *Homer* calls the Sacred Fiſh, though ſome interpret Sacred to ſignifie great in that place as we call a great Bone *Oſſacrum*, and the *Epile, ſie*, being a great Diſeaſe, the *Sacred Deſeaſe*, though others interpret that to be Sacred, which ought not to be touch'd, as being dedicated to holy uſe. And *Eracoſtenes* ſeems to take the *Gilthead* ſo call'd from the Golden-Hair about his Eyes, for the Sacred Fiſh; though many believe it to be *Elops* or *Trow*, from her Golden Scales; a Fiſh ſeldom ſeen, and difficult to be caught; yet many times it appears in the Rivers of *Phamphilia*. So that they that

that catch them are Crown'd, and their Boats are alſo adorn'd with Garlands, and as they paſs along receiv'd and honour'd with loud ſhouts and clapping of Hands. However it be, moſt People take *Anthias* to be a Sacred Fiſh, becauſe that where the *Anthias* appears, there are no Sea-monſters, but the *Spunge cutters* dive boldly, and the Fiſh as fearleſly ſpawn, as having a pledge for their ſecurity. And the reaſon is twofold, either becauſe the Sea-monſters dread the *Anthias*, as Elephants dred a Hog, and Lyons a Cock, or elſe it is a ſign that there are no Sea-monſters in thoſe places, which the *Anthias* knows and obſerves, as being an intelligent Fiſh, endu'd with Senſe and a good Memory.

Then again the care of their young, is common to both Sexes. For the Males never devour their Offſpring; but remain and abide conſtantly by the Spawn, protecting it with a diligent watchfulneſs, as *Ariſtotle* relates; and thoſe that accompany the Females moiſten the Spawn with a ſmall quantity of Milky Seed; for that otherwiſe the Spawn will not grow, but remains imperfect, and never arrives at the due proportion. Particularly the Fiſh call'd *Phycides*, *Moles* or *Lepos* make themſelves Neſts in the Sea weed to preſerve their Spawn from the Waves.

But the love of the *Lamprey* or *Pont-Eel* toward her Young Ones is beyond the Affection and Clemency of any the tameſt of Creatures; for they lay an Egg, which being hatch'd, they nouriſh and carry them about not outwardly, but within their own Bowels, as if they could not breed their Young without a ſecond Birth.

When the Young Ones are ſomewhat grown, they put them forth again, and teach them to ſwim cloſe by themſelves, then reſume them again through their Mouths into their Bellies, and afford them nouriſhment and ſafe retirement in their Bodies, till they are able to ſhift for themſelves.

No leſs admirable is the care of the Tortoiſe as to the bringing forth and preſerving her Young. For

ſhe retires out of the Sea to lay, but not being able to ſtay long upon the Land, ſhe hides her Eggs in the Sand, covering them over gently with the lighteſt of the Gravel, and when ſhe has thus ſufficiently and aſſuredly conceal'd them, ſome report, that ſhe marks and ſtreaks the place with her Feet, that ſhe may be able to know it again; others affirm, that the Female being driven away by the Male, leaves her particular marks and ſignatures behind her. However it be, this is moſt wonderful that after an Obſervation of forty days (for in ſo many the Eggs come to break) ſhe returns, and knowing where the Treaſure lies, as well as any Man underſtands where he hides his Gold, ſhe opens them with great Joy and Alacrity.

Many Obſervations like to theſe are made of the Crocodile. But the Superſtition of the Place will not allow a Man to dive into the reaſon of the cauſes. In regard the foreknowledge of this Creature is imputed more to Divinity than Reaſon. For neither farther nor nearer, but juſt ſo far as *Nilus* that Year will increaſe and cover the Land, thither ſhe goes forth and lays her Eggs: Which the Country-men finding, are able to tell one another how far the River will over-flow that Year, ſo truly does that Animal meaſure for himſelf, that tho' ſhe live in the Water, ſhe may lay her Eggs dry. But the Young Ones being hatch'd, which ſoever of them, ſo ſoon as they are come to life, does not ſeize whatever comes next, either upon a Flie or a Worm, or a Straw, or a Tuft of Graſs with his Mouth, the Dam preſently tears him to pieces with her Teeth. But thoſe that are fierce and active, ſhe loves and cheriſhes; according to the Judgment of the wiſeſt Men, imparting her affection by the Rules of Judgment, not the ſway of Paſſion.

The Sea-calves alſo bring forth upon the dry Lands: but then fetching out their Young ones by degrees, they give them a taſte of the Sea-water, and preſently lead them out again; and this they often do, 'till cuſtom has made them bold, and brought them to love a Sea Life.

Frogs

Frogs when they couple, uſe a certain croaking invitation which is commonly call'd *Ololygon*; and when the Male has thus intic'd the Female, they abide together all Night. For in the Water they cannot, and in the day time they are afraid to engender upon the Land, which in the Night time they do without controul. At other times they croak more ſhrill and loud, and then it is a ſign of Rain, and holds among the moſt aſſured Prognoſticks of wet weather.

But what abſurdity, deareſt *Neptune*, would this Paſſion of mine lead me into; how ridiculous ſhould I appear, if trifling among Sea-calves and Frogs, I ſhould omit one of the Marine Animals, the wiſeſt and moſt belov'd by the Gods? For what Nightingales are to be compar'd with the Halcyon for Muſic, or who will preſume to prefer the Swallows Induſtry, the gentleneſs of the Dove, or the Art and Curioſity of the Bees to thoſe vertues aſcrib'd to the Halcyon? One *Iſland*, as Hiſtory tells us, in love with *Latona*'s Birth, receiv'd and entertain'd her. But when the Halcyon brings forth, about the Winter Tropic, the whole Ocean remains calm and undiſturb'd without the wrinkle of a Wave. So that there is not any other Creature for which Man has ſo great an affection, ſeeing that for her ſake for ſeven days and ſeven nights together, in the depth of Winter, they ſail without fear of Ship-wrack, and make their Voyages upon the Sea, with greater ſafety than they travel upon the Land.

But if it be requir'd that we ſhould make a brief recital of her particular Vertues, ſhe is ſo great an example of Conjugal Affection, that ſhe does not keep company with her Mate for a ſingle Seaſon, but for whole years together; and that not for wantonneſs, for ſhe never couples but with her own, but out of affection and friendſhip, like a truly vertuous Marri'd Wife. And when her Mate through Age becomes infirm, and not able to bear her Company, ſhe takes care of him, and feeds and carries him about in his old Age, never forſaking nor leaving him alone, but taking him upon her Shoulders, carries him from place to place, never abandoning him 'till death.

As to her affection toward her Young ones, and care of their preſervation, ſo ſoon as ſhe perceives her ſelf near the time of her bringing forth, ſhe preſently betakes her ſelf to the making of her Neſt. For the building of which, ſhe neither makes uſe of Mud and Dirt, nor props it up with Walls and Rafters, like the Swallows, nor does ſhe weary ſeveral Members of her Body, like the Bees that employ their whole ſtrength to compleat their labour, and when they open their Cells, toil together in a narrow compaſs to divide their Apartments. For the *Halcyon* having but one ſingle Inſtrument, one ſingle Tool, which is her Bill, nor any other help to aſſiſt her in labour and her care of her Young ones, what a wonderful Maſter-piece of Workmanſhip does ſhe erect? Inſomuch that it is a difficult thing for them that have not well conſider'd it, to believe their Eye-ſight; her Workmanſhip ſeeming rather the Art of a Ship-wright, than of a Common Builder; of all Inventions, being the only Form not to be over-whelm'd and waſh'd by the Waves. To this purpoſe ſhe gathers them together, ſome ſtrait, others oblique, like the Woof in the Loom, the Thorns of the Sea-Needle, and twiſts and binds where the Thread and Yarn are interwoven one within another, till ſhe has fram'd a Neſt round and oblong, reſembling the uſual Fiſher-Boats. This when ſhe has finiſh'd, ſhe launches into the Sea, where the Waves beating gently upon it, direct to reform what is amiſs, by conſolidating the looſe and ill compacted Parts, where the Water has forc'd any entrance: Inſomuch that at length ſhe faſtens and ſtrengthens what ſhe has put together in ſuch a manner, that it is not to be broken or pierc'd either by Stones or Steel. Nor is the Symmetry and Form of the inſide and cavity of the Neſt leſs to be admir'd. For it is ſo contriv'd as only to receive her ſelf; the entrance into it not being to be found out by any Creature; nor can the Sea it ſelf find a way into it. I am apt to believe that none of you ever ſaw this Neſt. But for my own part, that have often ſeen and handled one of them, I may ſafely ſay, that I

In

In Delos *Temple near* Apollo's *ſhrine,*
Something like this, a Fabrick moſt Divine,

have ſeen: That is to ſay the horned Altar, celebrated for one of the ſeven Wonders of the World, which without the help of Parget, Glue, Soder, Paſt, or any other binding is only fram'd of Horns that grew on the right-ſide of the Head of the Beaſt.

Now may the Deity be propitious to one that is ſomewhat Muſical, and an Iſlander, while mildly I deride the queſtions which thoſe Scoffers put, wherefore *Apollo* may not be call'd *Triglobus* or the *Mullet ſhooter*, when we find that *Venus* is call'd the *Mullet-Protectrix*; for which reaſon ſhe is honour'd with Temples adjoyning to the Sea, and ſacred Rights; and certain it is that ſhe is diſpleas'd when any Mullet is kill'd. Therefore at *Laptis* the Prieſts of *Neptune* never eat any thing that breeds in the Sea; and you know the *Mullet* is in great Veneration among the Profeſſors of the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries; moreover that the Prieſteſs of *Juno* at *Argos* abſtains from the ſame Fiſh; and the reaſon is becauſe the *Mullets* kill and deſtroy the *Sea-hair*, which is pernicious to Man; and therefore they ſpare thoſe Creatures that are kind and beneficial to him. Then again we find among the *Greeks*, Temples and Altars frequently dedicated to *Diana Dictymna*, ſo call'd from *Dictis* a Net, and *Dolphinian Apollo*. And that ſame place which *Apollo* has peculiarly choſen for himſelf, was firſt of all inhabited by the *Cretians* having a *Dolphin* for their Leader. For the Deity did not ſwim before his Army in another ſhape (as the *Mythologiſts* dream) but ſending a Dolphin to direct them in their courſe, the Dolphin brought them to *Cirrha*. Story alſo tells us, that they who were ſent to *Sinope* by *Ptolomy Soter* to fetch from thence *Serapis* and *Bacchus*, being driven by contrary Winds upon the Coaſt of *Malea*, having the *Peloponneſus* upon their right hands, while they were thus wandring and out of their courſe, a Dolphin appear'd before the Prow

This place is all defective; elſe how he came to fall into this diſcourſe, and to leap from Syrens *to* Mullets, *is a riddle.*

of the headmoſt Veſſel, and as it were, kindly inviting them, conducted them into ſafe Harbours and Roads, 'till by his good guidance and leading them, he at length brought the whole Fleet to *Cyrrha*. There, when they came to offer the uſual Sacrifices for their ſafe landing, they came to underſtand, that of two Statues which were in the place, they were to take that of *Pluto* and carry it along with them; but as for that of *Proſerpina*, they were only to make it clean and leave it behind. Probable it is that the Deity had a kindneſs for the *Dolphin* conſidering how much he delights in Muſick. For which reaſon *Pindarus* likens himſelf to the *Dolphin*, and confeſſes himſelf to be mov'd in the ſame manner as that noble Creature,

Which Flutes beloved Sound,
Excites to play
Upon the calm and placid Sea

Tho' it is more probable that his Affection to Men is more pleaſing to the Deity; being the only Creature that bears an Affection to Man, as he is a Man. For as for the Land-Animals, ſome kinds there are that fly him altogether, and the tameſt and moſt gentle follow him and are familiar with him, only for the Benefit and Nouriſhment which they receive from *him*; as the Dog, the Horſe and Elephant. The Swallows, by neceſſity conſtrain'd build, in Houſes, ſeeking ſhade and ſecurity, but are no leſs afraid of Man, than the wild Beaſts. Only to the Dolphin has Nature bequeath'd that excellent Quality ſo much ſought for by the beſt of Philoſophers, to love for no advantage. For that having no need at all of Man, he is a kind friend to all Men, and has lent his Aſſiſtance to many. There is no Man that is ignorant of the famous Story of *Arion*. And you my dear Friend, have ſeaſonably put us in mind of *Heſiod*.

Then didſt not by a legal courſe,
Rightly conclude thy long diſcourſe.

For when you had ſpoken ſo much in praiſe of the Dog, you ſhould not have paſs'd by the Dolphin. For it was a blind ſtory of the Dog that bark'd and flew with violence upon the Murtherers. 'Twas a more famous Story, that of the *Dolphins*, that took the Carkaſs of *Heſiod* thrown into the *Nemean* Sea, and readily receiving it from one another, landed it at *Rium*, whereby the Murther came to be known.

Myrtilus the *Lesbian* writes, that *Enalus* the *Eolian*, being in Love with the Daughter of *Phineus*, who by the Command of the Oracle of *Amphitrite*, was caſt from the *Penthidian* Rocks; when he underſtood it, threw himſelf alſo into the Sea, but was ſav'd by a *Dolphin*, and carri'd to *Lesbos*.

But the gentleneſs and kindneſs of the *Dolphin* towards the *Jacean* Lad, was ſo extraordinary that it might be ſaid to amount even to amorous Love. For he play'd and ſwam with him in the day time, ſuffer'd himſelf to be handl'd and beſtrid by him; nor did he ſwim away with him, but joyfully carri'd him which way ſoever the Lad by the motion of his Body turn'd him, while the *Jaſeans* flock'd from all parts to the ſhoar to behold the ſight. At length the Lad being thrown from the Dolphins back by a terrible ſhower of Rain and Hail, was drown'd. Which the *Dolphin* perceiving, took up the dead Youth, and threw himſelf upon the Land together with the body, from which he never ſtirr'd 'till he dy'd out of his own Element; deeming it but juſt to partake of that end of which he ſeem'd to have been the occaſion to his Friend and Play-fellow. Nor can the *Jaſeans* forget the Accident, but keep it ſtill in remembrance by the ſtamp upon their Coin, which is a *Lad* upon a *Dolphins* back. And from hence it was that the fabulous Stories of *Caranus* gain'd Credit.

He was a *Parian* by Birth, who reſiding at *Byzantium*, at what time a draught of Dolphins caught in a Net, were expos'd to Sale, and in danger of Slaughter, bought them up all, and put them into the Sea again. It happen'd not long after that *Caranus* took a Voyage

in a Veſſel of fifty Oars, carrying; as the Story goes, ſeveral Pirates. But between *Naxus* and the Bay of *Paros* he ſuffer'd Shipwrack; and when all the reſt were drown'd, he alone was taken up by a Dolphin that haſten'd to his Succor, and carri'd to *Sycynthos*, and ſet a ſhore near the Cave, which to this day bears the Name of *Coeraneum*. Upon which *Archilochus* is ſaid to have made theſe Lines,

Of fifty Men, Great Neptune, gently grown,
Left Courteous Cæranus *alive for one.*

Some years after *Cæranus* dying, his Relations burnt his Body near the Sea ſide; at what time ſeveral Dolphins appear'd near the ſhoar, as if they had come to his Funeral; nor would they ſtir 'till the Funeral was over. Moreover *Steſichorus* writes that *Ulyſſes* bore a Dolphin painted upon his Shield; and for what reaſon, the *Zacynthian* Records tell us, as *Critheus* teſtifies; for they ſay that *Telemachus* when he was but a Boy falling into the Sea was ſav'd by the Dolphins that took him up and ſet him a ſhoar. And therefore he made uſe of a Dolphin for the Impreſſion of his Seal, and the Ornament of his Shield. But having promis'd before that I would produce no fabulous Stories; and yet being carry'd I know not how, to diſcourſe beyond probability of Dolphins, by this repetition of the Stories of *Caranus* and *Ulyſſes*, I will do Juſtice upon my ſelf, by concluding here.

Ariſtotimus. Now Gentlemen, it lies on your part that are Judges, to pronounce Sentence.

Soclares. Aſſuredly then, for our parts, we ſhall give the ſame Judgment in this, as *Sophocles* did in another Caſe;

Diſcourſe upon diſcording Arguments,
Is then determin'd beſt, when what was ſaid
Is duly weigh'd and ſtated on both ſides.

For thus comparing what you have both diſcours'd one againſt another, it will be found that ye have acquitted your ſelves on both ſides like true Champions againſt thoſe that would deprive Brute Animals of Senſe and Underſtanding.

That

That Brute Beaſts make uſe of Reaſon

Ulyſſes, Circe, Gryllus.

Tranſlated from the Greek *by Sir* A. J.

ALL theſe things, *Circe*, I believe that I have learnt and well remember. But I would willingly ask thee, whether thou haſt any *Grecians* here, which being Men thou haſt transform'd into Wolves and Lions.

Circe. Very many, deareſt *Ulyſſes*, but wherefore do you ask the Queſtion?

Ulyſ. Becauſe in good truth, I am of Opinion, I ſhould gain a High Reputation among the *Greeks*, if by thy favour I could reſtore theſe Men to humane ſhape againſt, and not ſuffer them through any negligence of mine to wax old in the Bodies of Beaſts, where they lead a miſerable and ignominious Life.

Circe. Surely this Man, fool as he is, believes it requiſite that his Ambition ſhould be unfortunate not only to his Friends, but to thoſe that nothing belong to him.

Ulyſ. Thou art now jumbling and mixing another villanous Potion of twittle twattle, and would'ſt plainly turn me into a Beaſt too, if thou could'ſt make me believe that it were a misfortune to be transform'd from a Beaſt to a Man.

Circe. What haſt thou made thy ſelf better than a Beaſt, who forſaking an immortal Life, free from the Miſeries of Old Age, with me, art making ſuch haſte through a thouſand threatning Calamities to a Mortal, and as I may ſay, old Wife, purſuing an empty Good and a Shadow inſtead of real Truth, and all this, thinking to be more conſpicuous and famous than thou art.

Ulyſ. Well *Circe*, let it be as thou ſayeſt; for why ſhould we be always contending about the ſame thing? However, do me the favour to reſtore theſe Men, and give 'em into my Cuſtody.

Circe.

Circe. By *Hecate* not ſo faſt neither; theſe are no ordinary Fellows; but ask 'em firſt, whether they are willing. If they refuſe, do you, being ſuch an Eloquent Gentleman, diſcourſe 'em and perſuade 'em; if you cannot perſuade 'em, being too hard for ye at your own Weapon, then let it ſuffice ye that you have ill conſulted your own and the good of your Friends.

Ulyſ. Bleſſed Woman wherefore doſt thou mock me thus? for how can they either talk or hear reaſon; ſo long as they are Aſſes, Hogs and Lions?

Circe. Be of good comfort moſt ambitious of Men; I will ſo order the buſineſs, that they ſhall both underſtand and diſcourſe; or rather, let one ſuffice to hear and return anſwers inſtead of all the reſt: Look ye, here's one at hand; pray talk to him.

Ulyſ. Prethee, *Circe*, by what Name ſhall we call him? Who is this fellow of all the Men in the World?

Circe. What's this to the purpoſe? Call him *Gryllus* if you pleaſe; and for my part, I'll leave ye together that you may not ſuſpect him for ſpeaking contrary to his mind to pleaſe me.

Gryll. Save ye, Mr. *Ulyſſes.*

Ulyſ. And you too, by Jove, Mr. *Gryllus.*

Gryll. What is't your Worſhip would have with me?

Ulyſ. I knowing you were all born Men, pity the Condition ye are now in; and I pity ye the more, for that being *Greeks* ye are fallen under this misfortune; and therefore I made it my requeſt to *Circe*, that ſhe would reſtore ye again to your former ſhape, as many of you as were deſirous, to the end ye might return home again with us.

Gryll. Hold Mr. *Ulyſſes*, not a word more of this I beſeech your Worſhip. For we all contemn thee, as one that none but fools call cunning, and as vainly vauntſt thy ſelf to be wiſer than other Men, and yet art afraid of being chang'd from worſe to better; like Children that are frighten'd at Phyſicians Doſes, and hate going to School, although the Medicines and the Precepts, of diſeas'd and fools, make them healthy and learn'd;

learn'd; juſt as thou refuſeſt to be transform'd out of one thing into another; and now thy bones rattle in thy skin for dread of living with *Circe*, leaſt ſhe ſhould transform the into a Hog or a Wolf; and would'ſt perſwade us living in plenty of all Enjoyments not only to forſake theſe Bleſſings, but to abandon her, that has ſo well provided for us, to ſail along with thee, and to become Men again, the moſt miſerable of all Creatures.

Ulyſ. In my Opinion, *Gryllus*, this ſame wicked Cup has not only depriv'd thee of thy ſhape, but of thy ſenſe and reaſon too; or elſe thou art got drunk with thoſe Opinions which are every where exploded as naſty and villanous; unleſs ſome voluptuous pleaſure of cuſtom and habit has betwitch'd thee to this Body.

Gryll. Neither of theſe, O King of the *Cephallenians* But if thou art come hither to diſpute, and not to rail and ſwagger, we ſhall ſoon convince thee, having Experience of both manners of living, that our way is to be preferr'd before that which thou ſo much applaudeſt.

Ulyſ. Nay then go on; I'le liſten with both Ears to hear this Paradox diſcuſs'd.

Gryll. Have at ye then, Sir; but it behoves us to begin firſt with thoſe Vertues which you ſo preſumptuouſly aſſume to your ſelves, and for which you ſo highly advance your ſelves before the Beaſts, ſuch as Juſtice, Prudence, Fortitude, *&c.* Now anſwer me, thou the wiſeſt among Mortals? For I have heard the telling a ſtory to *Circe* of the Territory of the *Cyclops*, that being neither plough'd nor planted by any Perſon, it is ſo fertile and generouſly productive, that it bears all ſorts of Fruits and Herbs ſpontaneouſly. Now which do you prefer, this Country, or your own Goat feeding ſtony * *Ithaca*, which being cultivated with great labour and hardſhip, yet little as it is, and barren, ſcarce anſwers the Expectations of the Husband-men? Now take it not a miſs that I forewarn ye leſt your Love to your Country ſway ye to give an anſwer contrary to Truth.

* *Val. di* Compare

Ulyſ.

Ulyſ. No, no, I will not lye for the matter; I muſt confeſs I Love and Honour my own Country more, but I applaud and admire theirs far beyond it.

Gryll. Hence we muſt conclude that it is ſo as the wiſeſt of Men has affirm'd; that there are ſome things to be prais'd and approv'd, others to be preferr'd by choice and affection. And I ſuppoſe you believe the ſame concerning the Soul. For the ſame reaſons holds in reference to the Soul as to the ground; that ſuch a Soul ſhould be the beſt, that produces Vertue like ſpontaneous Fruit, without Labour and Toyl.

Ulyſ. Grant all this.

Gryll. Then you confeſs that the Souls of Beaſts are the more perfect, and more fertilly endu'd for the Production of Vertue; ſeeing that without any Command or Document, it produces and increaſes that Vertue which is requiſite for every one.

Ulyſ. Prithee *Gryllus* don't rave, but tell me what thoſe Vertues are that Beaſts partake of?

Gryll. Rather what Vertues do they not partake of in a higher degree than the wiſeſt of Men? Look upon Fortitude in the firſt place, of which you vaunt and brag to have ſuch a terrible ſhare, and are not aſham'd of the magnificent Titles of *Ulyſſes* the *Bold*, and *City-Stormer*, when indeed like a pitiful Knave, as thou art thou doſt only circumvent by Tricks and Artifices Men that only underſtand the ſimple and generous way of making War, ignorant altogether of Fraud and Faith-breaking, and by that means cover'ſt thy deceit with the name of *Vertue* which never admits of any ſuch Coney-catching Devices. But you obſerve the Combats and Warfare of Beaſts as well one againſt another as againſt your ſelves, how free from Craft and Deceit they are, and how with an open and naked Courage they defend themſelves by meer ſtrength of Body; and how neither afraid of the Law that calls them forth to Battle, nor the ſevere Edicts againſt Deſertors,, but only out of ſcorn to be overcome, they fight with obſtinacy to the laſt for Conqueſt and Victory. For they are not vanquiſh'd when their Bodies are worſted

worſted, neither does deſpair cowardize them, but they dye upon the ſpot: And you ſhall ſee many times that the ſtrength of many, while expiring, being retir'd and crowded together in ſome part of the body ſtill makes reſiſtance againſt the Victor, and pants and fumes till at length it fails like extinguiſh'd Fire that goes out for want of Fuel. But there is no crying for Quarter, no begging of Mercy, no acknowledgment of being beaten; nor will the Lyon be a ſlave to the Lyon, nor the Horſe to the Horſe, as one Man is a ſlave to another, willingly and patiently embracing Servitude, the effect of fear and cowardice. On the other ſide, ſuch Beaſts as Men by Nets and treacherous Snares get into their Power, if fully grown, they rather chooſe to dye then ſerve, refuſing Nouriſhment and ſuffering extremity of Drought. But as for their young Ones being tractable and ſupple by reaſon of their Age and fed with the deceitful mixtures and food that Men provide for them, their inbred fierceneſs languiſhing through the taſte of preternatural Delights, they ſuffer that which is call'd Domeſtication, which is only an Effeminating of their natural fury. Whence it is apparent that Beaſts are naturally inclin'd to be couragious and daring, but that the martial confidence of Men is preternatural. Which, moſt noble *Ulyſſes*, you may chiefly obſerve from hence; for that in Beaſts, Nature keeps an equal ballance of Strength; ſo that the Female being but little inferior to the Male, undergoes all neceſſary toils, and fights in defence of her young Ones. And thus you hear of a certain *Cromyonian* Sow which tho' a Female held *Theſeus* tack, and found him work ſufficient. Neither had the Wiſdom of that ſame Female *Sphinx* that peſter'd *Phycium* with her Riddles and *Enigmas* avail'd her, had ſhe not far excell'd the *Cadmæans* in Strength and Fortitude. Not far from whence the *Telmeſian* Fox had his Den, a great propounder of Queſtions alſo; not to omit the Female Serpent that fought with *Apollo* for his Oracle at *Delphos*. Your King alſo took the Mare *Æthra* from the *Sicyonian* as a bribe to diſcharge him from going to

he Wars, to ſhew how much he eſteem'd a valiant nd generous Mare abo:e a timorous Coward. You your ſelf have alſo ſeen Female Panthers and Lioneſſes ittle Inferior to the Males in Strength and Courage; vhen your own Wife, tho a *Lacedemonian*, when you vere hectoring and bluſtering abroad, ſate at home in he Chimney-Corner, not daring to encounter the Swallows that plagu'd both her and her Family. Whence it s apparent that Fortitude is not natural to Men, for then he Women would partake of it. So that the Fortitude vhich you exerciſe is only conſtrain'd by Law, not natural and voluntary, but ſubſervient to the manners of the 'lace, and enſlav'd to reproach; a thing made up only of lorious Words and adventitious Opinion. And you ndergo labour, and throw your ſelf into danger, not ut of real Valour and Boldneſs, but becauſe ye are ore afraid of the other. Therefore as among thy own Companions, he that firſt makes haſte to ſnatch up the ightOar, doe, it not becauſe he contemns it, but becauſe e is loth to be troubl'd with the more heavy, ſo that e endures a blow to avoid a wound, and defends himelf againſt an Enemy to preſerve himſelf from Wounds nd Death, doe, it not out of daring courage againſt he one, but out of fear of the other. Thus your Fortiude is only a prudent fear; and your Courage, a knowng Timidity, which underſtandingly does one thing o avoide another. In ſhort, if you believe your ſelves uperior to the Beaſts in Fortitude, why do your 'oets call thoſe that behave themſelves moſt valianly againſt their Enemies *Wolf-breaſted*, *Lyon-hearted*, nd compare them to Wild-boars? But never call'd he Courage of Lyons *Man like*, or reſembl'd the trength of a Wild-boar to that of a Man. But as hey call the ſwift *Wind footed*, and the beautiful *Godlikerm'd*, hyperbolizing in their Similies; ſo when they xtol the Gallantry of the ſtout in Battle, they deive their Compariſons from the Superior in Bravery. The reaſon is becauſe Courage is as it were the tincture nd edge of Fortitude; which the Beaſts make uſe of nmix'd in their Combats, but in you being mix'd with Reaſon.

Reaſon, like Wine diluted with Water, it gives way to danger, and loſes the opportunity. And ſome of you there are who deny that Courage is requiſite in Battle, and therefore laying it aſide, make uſe of ſober Reaſon; which they do well for their preſervation, but are ſhamefully beſide the Cuſhion, in point of Strength and Revenge. How abſurd therefore is it for you to complain of Nature, becauſe ſhe did not furniſh your Bodies with Goades and Teeth, and crooked Claws, to defend your ſelves, when at the ſame time you would diſarm the Soul of her natural Weapons?

Ulyſ. In good truth, *Gryllus*, you are grown, in my conceit, a notable Sophiſter, to diſcourſe at this rate, out of a Hogs ſnout, and yet to handle your Argument ſo ſtrenuouſly. But why have you not all this while ſpoke a word of Temperance.

Gryll. Becauſe I thought you would have contradicted firſt, what I have already ſaid. But you are in haſte to hear what I have to ſay concerning Temperance, becauſe that being the Husband of a moſt temperate and chaſte Wife, you believe you have ſet us an Example of Temperance by abſtaining from *Circe's* Embraces; and yet in this you differ nothing from all the Beaſts, for neither do they deſire to approach their Superiors; but purſue their Pleaſures and Amours among thoſe of their own Tribe.

No wonder is it then, if like the *Mendeſian* Goat in *Egypt*, which is reported to have been ſhut up with ſeveral, and thoſe moſt beautiful Women, yet never offer'd copulation with them; but when he was at liberty, with a luſtful fury flew upon the ſhe Goats; ſo thou, tho' a Man addicted greatly to Veneral Pleaſures, yet being a Man, haſt no deſire to ſleep with a Goddeſs. And for the chaſtity of thy *Penelope*, the ten thouſand Rooks and Daws that chatter it abroad, do but make it ridiculous, and expoſe it to Contempt; there being not one of thoſe Birds, but if ſhe looſes her Mate, continues a Widow, not for a ſmall time, nor for nine Ages of Men; ſo that there is not one of thoſe Female Rooks that does not ſurpaſs in chaſtity thy fair *Penelope* above nine times.

But becauſe thou believeſt me to be a Sophiſter, I ſhall obſerve a certain order in my Diſcourſe, firſt giving thee the Definition of Chaſtity, and then dividing Deſire according to the ſeveral kinds of it. Chaſtity then is the contracting and well governing our deſires, pruning off thoſe that are ſuperfluous and incroaching upon our Wills, and ruling thoſe that are neceſſary by the Standards of Seaſon and Moderation. Now in deſires you obſerve a vaſt number of Diſtinctions; as it is both natural and neceſſary to drink. But as for Venereal Deſires, which derive their Originals from Nature; there is a time when they may be refrain'd without any inconvenience: Theſe are therefore call'd Phyſical and not natural. But there is another ſort which are neither natural, nor neceſſary, but infus'd from without by vain Opinion through the miſtake of right and true; and theſe are they that want but very little of ruining all your natural deſires with their number, like a multitude of Foreigners out-numbring the Natives, and expelling them from their Habitations. But the Beaſts having their Souls unmix'd, and not to be overcome by theſe Adventitious Paſſions; and living Lives as diſtant from vain Opinion as from the Sea, are inferior to you in living elegantly and ſuperfluouſly but they are extreamly wary in the preſervation of their Chaſtity, and the right Government of their Deſires, as being neither troubl'd with many, nor thoſe Foreign to their Natures: and therefore formerly I was no leſs ſmitten with the Gliſter of Gold then thou art now, as believing nothing elſe that a Man could poſſeſs to be comparable to it. Silver alſo and Ivory inveagl'd me with the ſame deſires; and he that enjoy'd theſe things in the greateſt meaſure ſeem'd to be a Man moſt happy and belov'd of God, whether a *Phrygian* or a *Carian*, whether more meanly deſcended then *Dolo*, or more miſerable then *Priamus*. From thence forward being altogether ſway'd by my deſires, I reaped n other pleaſure nor delight in any other Bleſſings of my Life, with which I abounded, believing that I wanted ſtill, and miſt my ſhare of thoſe that were the

the chiefeſt and the greateſt. Therefore I remember, when I beheld thee in *Creet*, at ſome Solemnity, moſt pompouſly attired, I neither envy'd thy Wiſdom, nor thy Vertue, but the extraordinary fineneſs and exquiſite Workmanſhip of thy *Tunic*, and the glyſtering of thy Purple upper Garment, and the Beauty of the Ornaments that ſtrook me with admiration: and the Golden Claſp, me thought, was a pritty Toy that had ſomething of extraordinary Graving in it; and bewitch'd with theſe Baubles I follow'd thee as the Women did. But now being altogether eſtrang'd from thoſe vain Opinions, and having my underſtanding purify'd, I tread both Gold and Silver under my feet, as I do the common Stones; nor did I ever ſleep more ſoundly upon *thy* Carpets and Tapeſtries, then now I do, rowl'd over head and ears in the deep and ſoft Mud. None of thoſe adventitious deſires reſide in our Souls; but for the moſt part our manner of living is accuſtom'd to neceſſary Pleaſures and Deſires; and as for thoſe pleaſures which are not neceſſary, but only natural, we make ſuch a uſe of them as is neither without order nor moderation. And therefore let us conſider theſe in the firſt place.

The Pleaſure then, that affects the Senſe of Smelling with ſweet Odors and fragant Exhalations, beſides that it has ſomething in it, which is pure in it ſelf, and as it were beſtow'd upon us *gratis*, contributes alſo in ſome meaſure to the diſtinction of nouriſhment. For the Tongue is ſaid to be the Judge of ſweet, ſowre and tart, when the ſeveral juyces intermix'd with the diſtinguiſhing taſte, undergo a kind of ſeparation. But our ſmell, before the taſte, becoming ſenſible of the vertue and qualities of every one, and being more accurate than the Taſters attending upon Princes, admits what is familiar to Nature, and expels whatever is diſagreeable to it: Neither will it ſuffer it to touch or moleſt the taſte, but accuſes and declares the offenſiveneſs of the thing ſmelt, before it do any harm. As to other things, they breed no diſturbance to it, conſtraining ye for the ſake of the ſweet Scents of Cinnamon, Nard,

Cephalick Herbs and *Aromatick* Reed, to ſeek out for things diſſimilar, and jumble them together with a kind of Apothecaries or Perfumers Art, and at vaſt expence to purchaſe an unmanly and effeminate delight, for nothing profitable or uſeful. Now being ſuch, this ſenſe of ſmelling has not only corrupted all the Female Sex, but the greateſt part of Men, inſomuch that they care not to converſe with their own Wives, unleſs Perfum'd with precious Oyntments, and Odoriferous compoſitions. Whereas Sows, ſhe-Goats, and other Females, attract the Boars, he-Goats, and the Males of their own kind, by their own proper Scents; and the ſmell of the pure Dew, the Meadows and Grais, incites them to copulation out of common affection; the Females, without the Coineſſes of Women, or the practice of little Frauds and Faſcinations, to inflame the luſt of their Mates; nor are the Males, with amorous rage and frenzy ſtimulated, enforc'd to purchaſe the Act of Generation with expenſive hire or ſervile Aſſiduity, enjoying their ſeaſonable Amours without deceit or purchaſe of the ſatisfaction of their Venery; which at ſuch a time of the Year, like the Buds of Plants, awaking their deſire, is preſently quench'd again, neither the Female admitting the Male, nor the Male attempting the Female after Conception. And thus Pleaſure has but a ſmall and ſlender eſteem among us. So that even to this very day, we Beaſts were never tainted yet with coupling Male with Male, and Female with Female. Of which nevertheleſs there are many Examples to be produc'd among the greateſt and moſt celebrated Perſons: For I paſs by thoſe not worth remembrance.

Agamemnon hunted all *Bœotia* in purſuit of *Argynus*, who fled his Embraces, and after he had falſly accus'd the Sea and Winds, flung himſelf bravely no leſs brave into the Lake *Copais*, to quench his Love, and free himſelf from the Ardor of his Luſt.

Hercules in like manner purſuing his beardleſs Friend, forſook his choiceſt Aſſociates, and betray'd the Fleet.

In the Supping Room belonging to *Apollo*, Sirnam'd *Ptous*, one of your Countrey-men unknown, wrote this Inſcription, *Achilles the fair*; when *Achilles* at that time had a Son: And I hear the Inſcription is ſtill remaining. Yet if a Cock tread a Cock, in the abſence of the Hen, he is burnt alive, upon the ſignification of the South-ſayer that it portends ſome fatal calamity. Which is a plain confeſſion in Men themſelves, that the Beaſts excel them in chaſtity, and that force is not to be put upon Nature for the ſake of Pleaſure. But your incontinence is ſuch, that Nature, though ſhe have the Law to aſſiſt her, is not able to keep it within Bounds; inſomuch that like a rapid inundation, thoſe inordinate deſires overwhelm Nature with continual violence, trouble and confuſion. For Men have copulated with ſhe-Goats, Sows and Mares: And Women have run Mad after Male Beaſts: And from ſuch Copulations ſprang the *Minotaur* and *Silvans*, and as I am apt to believe, the *Sphinxes* and *Centaurs*. 'Tis true, that ſometimes conſtrained by hunger, a Dog or a Bird has fed upon humane Fleſh; but never yet did any Beaſt attempt to couple with humane Kind. But Men conſtrain and force the Beaſts to theſe and many other unlawful Pleaſures.

Now being thus wicked and incontinent, in refere nc to the aforeſaid luſtful deſires, it is no leſs eaſie to be, prov'd, that Men are more intemperate then Beaſts even in thoſe things which are neceſſary; that is to ſay, in eating and drinking; the pleaſure of which we always enjoy with ſome benefit to our ſelves: But you purſuing the pleaſures of eating and drinking beyond the ſatisfaction of Nature, are puniſh'd with many and tedious Diſeaſes, which ariſing from the ſingle Fountain of ſuperfluous gormandizing, fill your Bodies with all manner of wind and vapors not eaſie for purgation to expel. In the firſt place, all ſorts of beaſts, according to their kind, feed upon one ſort of food, which is proper to their Natures; ſome upon Graſs, ſome upon Roots, and others upon Fruits. They that feed upon Fleſh never mind any other ſort of Food. Neither do

they rob the weaker Animals of their Nouriſhment: But the Lion ſuffers the Hart, the Wolf permits the Sheep to feed upon what Nature has provided for them. But Man, ſuch is his voracity, falls upon all, to ſatisfie the pleaſures of his Appetite, tries all things, taſtes all things: And as if he were yet to ſeek what was the moſt proper Diet and moſt agreeable to his Nature, among all the Creatures is the only *All-devourer*. And firſt he makes uſe of Fleſh, not for want, as having the liberty to take his choice of Herbs and Fruits, the plenty of which is inexhauſtible; but out of luxury, and being cloi'd with neceſſaries, ſeeks after inconvenient and impure Diet, purchas'd by the ſlaughter of living Creatures; by that means, ſhewing himſelf more cruel than the moſt ſavage of Wild Beaſts. For Blood, Murther and Fleſh, are proper to nouriſh the Kite, the Wolf and Dragon, but to Men they are delicious viands. Then making uſe of all, he does not do like the Beaſts, who abſtain from moſt Creatures, and only are at enmity with a few, and that only compell'd by the neceſſities of hunger; but neither Fowl, nor Fiſh, nor any thing that lives upon the Land eſcape your Tables, though they bear the Epithites of *Humane* and *Hoſpitable*. Let it be ſo: That nothing will ſerve ye but to devour whatever comes near ye to pamper and indulge your voracious Appetites. Yet where's the benefit and pleaſure of your perpetual gormandizing, conſidering how you are forc'd to toyl and labour for unprofitable experience? But ſuch is the prudence of the Beaſts, as not to admit of any vain and unprofitable Arts: And as for thoſe that are neceſſary, they do not acquire them, as being introduc'd by others, or taught for reward; neither do they make it their ſtudy to ſoder and faſten one contemplation to another, but they are ſuppli'd by their own Prudence with ſuch as are true born and genuine. 'Tis true, we hear the *Egyptians* are generally Phyſicians. But the Beaſts are not only every one of them notionally endu'd with Knowledge and Art which way to cure themſelves, but alſo to procure their Food, and repair

pair their ſtrength; to catch their prey by flight and cunning, to guard themſelves from danger; neither are ſome of them ignorant how to teach the Science of Muſic ſo far as is convenient for *Them*. For from whom did we learn to run to the Rivers when we are Sick, to ſearch for *Crey-fiſh* but from the Hogs? Who taught the Tortoiſes, when they have eaten Vipers, to Phyſick themſelves with *Baſil*? Who taught the *Cretan* Goats, when ſhot with Arrows that ſtick in their Bodies, to betake themſelves to Dittany? Which they have no ſooner eaten, but the Heads of the Darts fall out of the Wound. Now if you ſay that Nature is the School-Miſtreſs that teaches them theſe things, you acknowledge the prudence of Beaſts to be deriv'd for the chiefeſt and wiſeſt Original of Underſtanding. Which if you think not proper to call reaſon and wiſdom, 'tis time for ye to find out a more glorious and honourable name for it; as indeed by its effects it ſhews it ſelf, to be greater and more wonderful in power: Not illiterate, or without Education, but inſtructed by its ſelf, and wanting nothing from without; not weak and imperfect, but through the vigor and perfection of its natural Vertue, ſupporting and cheriſhing that natural contribution of underſtanding which others attain to by Inſtruction and Education. So that whatever Men acquire and contemplate in the midſt of their luxury and wantonneſs, thoſe things our underſtanding attains to, through the excellency of our apprehenſions, even contrary to the Nature of the Body. For not to ſpeak of Whelps that learn to draw dry Foot, and Colts that will Practice Figure Dances, there are Crows that will ſpeak, and Dogs that will leap through Hoops as they turn round. You ſhall alſo ſee Horſes and Bulls upon the Theatres lie down, dance, ſtop and move their Bodies after ſuch a manner as would puzzle even Men to perform the ſame things; which though they are of little uſe, yet being learn'd and remember'd by Beaſts, is a great Argument of their Docility.

If you doubt whether we learn Arts; he convinces you that we teach them. For Patridges teach their

Young Ones to hide themſelves by lying upon their Backs juſt before a clod of Earth, to eſcape the purſuit of the Fowlers. And you ſhall obſerve the Old Storks when their Young Ones firſt begin to take Wing, what care they take to inſtruct them upon the Tops of Houſes. Nightingales alſo teach their Young Ones to Sing: Inſomuch that Nightingales taken Young out of the Neſt, and bred up by Hand in Cages, ſing worſe, as being depriv'd of their Inſtructors before their time. So that after I had been a while transform'd into this ſhape, I admir'd at my ſelf, that I was ſo eaſily perſwaded by idle Arguments of the Sophiſters, to believe that all other Creatures were void of ſenſe and reaſon except Man.

Ulyſſes. Why then, *Gryllus*, does your Tranſmutation inform ye alſo that Sheep and Aſſes are rational Creature?

Gryllus. From theſe very Creatures, moſt worthy and beſt of Men, *Ulyſſes*, the Nature of Beaſts is chiefly to be diſcern'd to be as it is, neither void of Reaſon nor Underſtanding. For as one Tree is neither more or leſs without a Soul, but are altogether in the ſame condition of Inſenſibility (for there is no Tree that is endu'd with a Soul.) So neither would one Animal ſeem to be more ſlow to underſtand, or more indocible than another, if all did not partake of Reaſon and Underſtanding, tho' ſome in a leſs, ſome in a greater meaſure. For you muſt conſider that the ſtupidity and ſlothfulneſs of ſome, is an Argument of the quickneſs and ſubtilty of others, which eaſily appears when you compare a Fox, a Wolf, or a Bee, with a Sheep or Aſs: As if thou ſhouldeſt compare thy ſelf to *Polyphæmus*, or thy Grand-father *Autolychus* with that ſame *Glaucus* the *Corinthian*, mentioned in *Homer*. For I do not believe there is that difference between Beaſt and Beaſt, in point of Reaſon, and Underſtanding, and Memory, as between Man and Man.

Ulyſſes. Have a care, *Gryllus*, 'tis a dangerous thing to allow them Reaſon, that have no knowledge of a Deity.

Gryllus. Muſt we then deny thy ſelf, moſt noble *Ulyſſes*, to be ſo wiſe and full of *Stratagems* as thou art eſteem'd to be, becauſe begot by *Sicyphus* that got the ſtart of thy Father upon the Wedding day? ***

Of the Face, appearing within the Orb of the Moon.

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by* A. G. *Gent.*

The Beginning of this Diſcourſe is loſt.

THeſe things then, ſaid *Sylla.* For it agrees with n Story, and is taken thence. But I ſhould firſt willingly ask, what need there is of making ſuch a Preamble againſt theſe Opinions, which are at hand, and in every Man's Mouth, concerning the Face, that is ſeen within the Orb of the Moon. Why ſhould we not, ſaid I, being by the Difficulty there is in theſe Diſcourſes, forc'd upon thoſe? For as they, who have long lain lingring under chronical Diſeaſes, after they have been worn out and tir'd with Experimenting all ordinary Remedies, and the uſual Rules of Living and Diet; have at laſt Recourſe to Luſtrations and Purifications, to Charms and Amulets faſtned about the Neck, and to the Interpretation of Dreams, ſo in ſuch obſcure, and abſtruſe Queſtions and Speculations, when the common, apparent, and ordinary Reaſons are not ſatisfactory, there is a neceſſity of trying ſuch as are more extravagant, and of not contemning, but enchanting our ſelves, as one may ſay, with the Diſcourſes of the Antients, and endeavouring always to find out the Truth. For you ſee at the very firſt bluſh, how impertinent his Opinion is, who ſaid, that the Form, appearing in the Moon, is an accident of our Sight, by its weakneſs giving way to her brightneſs, which we call the dazling of our Eyes; for he perceives not, that this ſhould rather befal our Looking againſt the Sun, whoſe Luſtre is more reſplendent, and his Rays more quick and piercing, as *Empedocles* alſo in a certain Paſſage of his, has not unpleaſantly noted the difference of theſe two Planets, ſaying:

The ſharp-ray'd Sun, and *gently ſhining Moon*

*Inſtead of λαΐνα, I read ἱλάεσσα, a Name given to the Moon by *Empedocles* and here by *Plutarch* deduc'd from ἵλαος, propitious, or favorable.

For thus does he call her, alluring, favorable and harmleſs Light. No leſs abſurd appears the Reaſon, he afterwards gives, why dull and weak Eyes diſcern no difference of Form in the Moon, her Orb appearing to them plain and ſmooth; whereas thoſe, whoſe Sight is more acute and penetrating, better deſcry the Lineaments, and more perfectely obſerve the Impreſſions of a Face, and more evidently diſtinguiſh its different Parts. For it ſhould, in my Opinion, be quite contrary, if this were a Fancy, caus'd by the weakneſs of the vanquiſh'd Sight; ſo that where the Patients Eye is weaker, the Appearance would be more expreſs and evident. Moreover, the Inequality every way confutes this Reaſon; for this Face is not ſeen in a continuance and confus'd Shadow; but the Poet *Archianax* not unelegantly deſcribes it, ſaying.

With ſhining Fire, it circled does appear,
And in the midſt is ſeen the Viſage clear.
Of a young Maid, whoſe Eyes more gay than blew,
Her Brow and Cheeks a bluſhing Red do ſhew.

For indeed dark and ſhady things, encompaſs'd with others that are bright and ſhining, ſink underneath and reciprocally riſe again, being repell'd by them; and, in a word, they are ſo interlac'd one within another, that they repreſent the Figure of a Face painted, to the Life; and there ſeems to have been great probability in that, which was ſpoken againſt *Clearchus* by *Ariſtotle*, who appears not inconveniently to be call'd yours. For this *Ariſtotle* of yours was intimately acquainted with the ancient one, although he preverted many of the *Peripetatic* Doctrines.

Then *Apollonides* taking up the Diſcourſe, and asking, what that Opinion of *Clearchus* was? It would more, ſaid I, beſeem any Man, than you, to be ignorant of this

this Diſcouſe, as being grounded on the very fundamental Principles of Geometry. For he affirms, that what we call a Face, are the Images and Figures of the great *Ocean*, repreſented in the Moon, as in a Mirror. For the Circumference of a Circle, being every way reflected back, is wont to deceive the Sight in ſuch things, as cannot be directly ſeen. And the full Moon is for evenneſs and luſtre the moſt beautiful and pureſt of all Mirrors. As then you hold, that the Heavenly Bow appears, when the Light is reflected back towards the Sun in a Cloud, that has got a little liquid Smoothneſs and Conſiſtence; ſo, ſaid he, there is ſeen in the Moon the Surface of the Sea, not in the Place, where it is ſituated, but from whence the Refraction gives a Sight of it by its reverberated and reflexed Light, as *Ageſianax* again ſays in another Paſſage:

This flaming Mirror offers to your Eyes
The vaſt Seas Figure, as beneath it lies
Foaming with raging Billows.

Apollonides therefore, being delighted with this, ſaid, A ſingular Opinion indeed is this of his, and, to ſpeak in a Word, ſtrangely and newly invented by a Man, ſufficiently preſumptuous, but not void of Learning and Wit. But how, I pray, was it refuted?

Firſt, ſaid I, if the Superficies of the Sea is all of a Nature, the Current of it muſt be uniform and continuate, but the Appearance of thoſe black and dark Spots, which are ſeen in the Face of the Moon, is not continu'd, but it has certain Iſthmes or Partitions clear and bright, which divide and ſeparate what is dark and ſhady. Whence every Place being diſtinguiſht, and having its own Limits apart, the Approachings of the Clear to the Obſcure, taking a Reſemblance of high and low, expreſs and repreſent the Similitude of a Figure, ſeeming to have Eyes and Lips; ſo that we muſt of neceſſity ſuppoſe, either that there are main Oceans and main Seas, diſtinguiſh'd by Iſthmes and Continents of firm Land, which is evidently abſurd and falſe; or that if there is but one, 'tis not credible, its Image ſhould appear ſo diſtracted

diſtracted and diſſipated by pieces; and as for this, 'tis more ſecure, and there is leſs Danger in asking, than in affirming, in your Preſence: Whether the habitable Earth, being equal in Length and Breadth, it is poſſible that all the Sight, reflected and ſent back by the Moon, ſhould equally touch the whole Ocean, and thoſe that ſail and dwell in it, as do the *Britains*; eſpecially ſince the Earth, as you have maintained, has but the Proportion of a Point, if compar'd to the Sphere of the Moon. This therefore, ſaid I, 'tis your Buſineſs to obſerve, but the Refraction of the Sight againſt the Moon belongs neither to you nor *Hipparchus*. And yet, my Friend *Lamprias*, there are many Naturaliſts, who approve not the Doctrine of his touching the driving back of the [illegible]; but affirm it to be more probable, that it has a certain obedient and agreeing Temperature and Compactneſs of Structure, than ſuch Beatings and Repercuſſions, as *Epicurus* feign'd for his Atoms. Nor am I of Opinion, that *Clearchus* would have us ſuppoſe the Moon not to be a maſſy and weighty Body, but a celeſtial and light-giving Star, againſt which, you ſay, this Refraction of our Sight ſhould reach; ſo that all this Reflection and Reverberation comes to nothing. But if we are deſir'd to receive and admit it, we ſhall ask why this Face or Image of the Sea is to be ſeen only in the Body of the Moon; and not in any of the other Stars? For the Laws of Probability require, that the Sight ſhould ſuffer this equal in all, or elſe in none.

But pray Sir, ſaid I caſting mine Eyes upon *Lucius* call a little to mind, what was ſaid at firſt by thoſe of our Party.

Nay rather, anſwer'd he, leſt we ſhould ſeem too injurious to *Pharnaces*, in thus paſſing by the Opinion of the *Stoics*, without oppoſing any thing againſt it, let us make ſome Reply to this Man, who ſuppoſes the Moon to be wholly a Mixture of Air and mild Fire; and then ſays, that, as in a Calm there ſometimes ariſes on a ſudden a Breez of Wind, which curls and ruffles the Superficies of the Sea, ſo, the Air being darkned and render'd black, there is an Apearance and Form of a Face.

You do courteouſly, *Lucius*, ſaid I, thus to vail and cover with ſpecious Expreſſions, ſo abſurd and falſe an Opinion. But ſo did not our Friend, but ſaid, as the Truth is, that the *Stoicks* disfigur'd and mortifi'd the Moon's Face, filling it with Stains and black Spots, one while invocating her by the Name of *Diana* and *Minerva*, and another while making her a Lump and Mixture of dark Air and Char-coal-Fire, not kindling of it ſelf, or having any Light of its own, but a Body hard to be judg'd and known, always ſmoaking, and ever burning, like to thoſe Thunders, which are by the Poets ſtyl'd lightneſs and ſooty. Now, that a Fire of Coals, ſuch, as they would have that of the Moon to be, cannot have any Continuance, nor yet ſo much as the leaſt Subſiſtence, unleſs it meets with ſome ſolid Matter, fit to maintain it, keep it in, and feed it, has, I think, far better than it is by theſe Philoſophers, been underſtood by thoſe Poets, who in merriment, affirm, that *Vulcan* was therefore ſaid to be lame, becauſe Fire can no more go forward without Wood or Fewel, than a Criple without a Crutch. If then the Moon is Fire, whence has it ſo much Air? For that Region above, which is with a continual Motion carri'd round, conſiſts not of Air, but ſome more excellent Subſtance, whoſe Nature it is to ſubtilize and ſet on fire all other things. And if it has been ſince engendred there, how comes it that it does not periſh, being chang'd and tranſmuted by the Fire into an æthereal and heavenly Subſtance? And how can it maintain and preſerve it ſelf, cohabiting ſo long with the Fire, as a Nail always fix'd and faſten'd in one and the ſame Place? For being rare and diffus'd, as by Nature it is, 'tis not fitted for Permanency and Continuance, but for Change and Diſſipation: Neither is it poſſible, that it ſhould condenſe and grow compact, being mix'd with Fire, and utterly void of Water and Earth, the only two Elements, by which the Nature of the Air ſuffers it ſelf to be brought to a Conſiſtency and Thickneſs. And ſince the Swiftneſs and Violence of Motion is wont to enflame the Air, which is in Stones, and even in Lead it ſelf, as cold as it is; much

more

more will it that, which, being in Fire, is with ſo great an Impetuoſity whirl'd about. For they are diſpleas'd with *Empedocles* for making the Moon a Maſs of Air, congeal'd after the manner of Hail, included within a Sphere of Fire. And yet they themſelves ſay, that the Moon, being a Globe of Fire, contains in it much Air diſpers'd here and there; and this, tho' it has neither Ruptures, Concavities nor Depths (which they, who affirm it to be earthly, admit;) but the Air lies ſuperficially on its Convexity. Now this is both againſt the Nature of Permanency, and impoſſible to be accorded, with what we ſee in full Moons; for it ſhould not appear ſeparately black and dark, but either be wholly obſcur'd and conceal'd, or elſe co-illuminated, when the Moon is overſpread by the Sun. For with us the Air, which is in the Pits and Hollows of the Earth, whither the Rays of the Sun cannot penetrate, remains dark and lightleſs; but that, which is ſpread over its exterior Parts, has Clearneſs, and a lightſome Colour. For it is by reaſon of its Rarity eaſily transform'd into every Quality and Faculty, but principally of Light and Brightneſs, by which, being never ſo little touch'd, it incontinently changes, and is illuminated. This Reaſon therefore, as it ſeems greatly to help and maintain the Opinion of thoſe, who thruſt the Air into certain deep Valleys and Caves in the Moon; ſo it confutes you, who mix and compoſe her Sphere, I know not how of Air and Fire. For it is not poſſible, that there ſhould remain any Shadow or Darkneſs in the *Superficies* of the Moon, when the Sun with his Brightneſs clears and enlightens, whatſoever we can diſcern of her, and cut with our Sight.

Whilſt I was yet ſpeaking, *Pharnaces* interrupting my Diſcourſe, ſaid, See here again the uſual Stratagem of the Academy, brought into play againſt us, which is to buſie themſelves at every turn in ſpeaking againſt others, but never to afford an Opportunity for reproving, what they ſay themſelves; ſo that thoſe, with whom they confer and diſpute, muſt always be Reſpondents and Defendants, and never Plantiffs or Oppo-

nents.

nents. You ſhall not therefore bring me this Day to give you any Account of thoſe things, you charge upon the *Stoics*, till you have firſt rendred me a Reaſon for your turning the World upſide down.

Then *Lucius* ſmiling, ſaid, This, good Sir, I am well contented to do, provided only, that you will not accuſe us of Impiety, as *Ariſtarchus* thought, that the *Greeks* ought to have call'd *Cleanthes* the *Samian* into queſtion, and condemn'd him of Blaſphemy againſt the Gods, as ſhaking the very Foundations of the World, becauſe this Man, endeavouring to ſave the Appearances, ſuppos'd, that the Heavens remain'd immovable, and that the Earth mov'd thro' the oblique Circle of the Zodiac, turning about its Axle-tree. As for us therefore, we ſay nothing, that we take from them. But how do they, my good Friend, who ſuppoſe the Moon to be Earth, turn the World upſide down, more than you, who ſay, that the Earth remains here hanging in the Air, being much greater than the Moon, as the Mathematicians meaſure their Magnitude by the Accidents of Eclipſes, and by the Paſſages of the Moon through the Shadow of the Earth, gathering thence, how great a Space it takes up? For the Shadow of the Earth is leſs than it ſelf, by reaſon it is caſt by a greater Light. And that the end of this Shadow upwards is ſlender and pointed, they ſay, that *Homer* himſelf was not ignorant, but plainly expreſs'd it, when he call'd the Night Ὀξύν, that is, acute, from the ſharp pointedneſs of the Earth's Shadow. And yet the Moon in her Eclipſes, being caught within this Point of the Shadow, can ſcarce get out of it by going forward thrice her own Bigneſs in length. Conſider then, how many times the Earth muſt needs be greater than the Moon, if it caſts a Shadow, the narroweſt Point of which is thrice as broad as the Moon. But you are perhaps afraid, leſt the Meon ſhould fall, if it were acknowledg'd to be Earth; but as for the Earth, *Æſchylus* has ſecur'd you, when he ſays that *Atlas*,

Like a firm Pillar, Heav'n and Earth ſuſtains,
Whilſt on his Back a heavy Weight remains

If then there runs under the Moon only a light Air, not firm enough to bear a ſolid Burthen, whereas under the Earth there are, as *Pindar* ſays, Columns and Pillars of Adamant for its ſupport; and therefore *Pharnaces* himſelf is out of all dread of the Earths falling; but he pities the *Æthiopians*, and thoſe of *Taprobane*, who lie directly under the Courſe of the Moon, fearing, leſt ſo ponderous a Maſs ſhould tumble upon their Heads. And yet the Moon has, for an help to preſerve her from falling, her Motion, and the Impetuoſity of her Revolution: As Stones, Pebles and other Weights, put into Slings, and are kept from dropping out, whilſt they are ſwung round, by the ſwiftneſs of their Motion. For every Body is carry'd according to its natural Motion, unleſs it be diverted by ſome other intervening Cauſe. Wherefore the Moon does not move according to the Motion of her Weight, her Inclination being ſtopt and hindred by the Violence of a circular Revolution. And perhaps there would be more reaſon to wonder, if the Moon continu'd always immoveable in the ſame Place, as does the Earth. But now the Moon has a great Cauſe to keep her from tending hither downwards; but for the Earth, which has no other Motion, 'tis probable, that it has alſo no other Cauſe of his Settlement, but its own weight. For the Earth is heavier thon the Moon, not only becauſe it is greater, but alſo beeauſe the Moon is rendred lighter by the Heat and Inflammation that is in it. In brief, it appears by what you ſay, if 'tis true, that the Moon is Fire, it ſtands in need of Earth, or ſome other Matter, which it may reſt on, and cleave, to, for the maintaining and nouriſhing of its Power. For 'tis not poſſible to imagin, how a Fire can be preſerv'd without ſome combuſtible Matter: and you your ſelves ſay, that the Earth continues firm without any Baſis or Pedeſtal, to ſupport it.

Yes ſurely, ſaid *Pharnaces*, being in its proper and natural Place, the verd Middle and Center of the Univerſe. For this it is, to which all heavy and ponderous things do from every ſide naturally tend, incline and aſpire,

aſpire, and about which they cling, and are counter-pois'd. But every ſuperior Region, tho' it may perhaps receive ſome earthly and weighty thing ſent by violence up into it, immediately repels and caſts it down again by force; or, to ſpeak better, lets it follow its own proper Inclination, by which it naturally tends downwards.

For the Refutation of which, being willing to give *Lucius* time for the calling to mind his Arguments, I addreſs'd my ſelf to *Theon*, and ask'd him, which of the Tragick Poets it was, who ſaid that Phyſicians

With bitter Med'cines bitter Choler purge;

and *Theon* having anſwer'd me, that it was *Sophocles*: This, ſaid I to him, we muſt of neceſſity permit them ſo to do; but we are not to give ear to thoſe Philoſophers, who would overthrow Paradoxes by Aſſertions, no leſs ſtrange and parodoxical, and for the oppugning extravagant and admirable Opinions, deviſe others, yet more wonderful and abſurd: As theſe Men do, who broach and introduce this Doctrine of a Motion, tending towards the Middle: In which, what ſort of Abſurdity is there not to be found? Does it not thence follow, that the Earth is ſphærical and round, as a Ball, tho' we nevertheleſs ſee it to have ſo many lofty Hills, ſo many deep Vallies, and ſo great a Number of Inequalities? Does it not follow that there are *Antipodes* dwelling oppoſite to one another, ſticking on every ſide to the Earth, with their Heads downwards, and their Heels upwards, as if they were Wood-worms or Cats, hanging by their Claws? That we our ſelves go not on the Earth, ſtrait upright, and rectangular, but obliquely, and bending aſide, like drunken Men? That if Bars and Weights of a thouſand Talents a piece ſhould be let fall into the Hollow of the Earth, they would, when they were come to the Center or Middle, ſtop and reſt there, tho' nothing came againſt them or ſuſtain'd them; and that, if peradventure they ſhould by force paſs the Middle, they would of themſelves return and rebound back thither again? That if one ſhould ſaw off the two Trunks or Ends of a Beam on either ſide of

the Earth, they would not be always carry'd downwards, but falling both from without into the Earth, they would equally meet, and hide themſelves together in the Middle? That if a violent Stream of Water ſhould run downwards into the Ground, it would, when it came to the Center in the midſt, which they hold to be an incorporeal Point, there gather together, and turn round like a Whirl-pool, hanging about a Pole, with a perpetual and endleſs Suſpenſion? Some of which Poſitions are ſo abſurd, that none can ſo much as force his Imagination, tho' falſly, to conceive them poſſible. For this is indeed to make that, which is above, to be below, and to turn all things upſide down, by placing that, which is in the Middle, beneath; and that, which is under the Middle, above; ſo that, if a Man ſhould, by the Sufferance and Conſent of the Earth, ſtand with his Navel juſt againſt her Middle or Center, he would by this means have his Foot and Head both upwards; and if one, having digg'd thro' that place, which is beyond the Middle, ſhould come to pull him out from thence, that Part, which is below, would at one and the ſame time be drawn upwards, and that which is above, downwards. And if another ſhould be imagin'd to ſtand the contrary way, their Feet, tho' the ones were oppoſite to the others, would both be, and be ſaid to be upwards.

Bearing then upon their Shoulders, and drawing after them, I do not ſay a little Bag or Box, but a whole Pack of Juglers Boxes, full of ſo many abſurdities, with which they play the *Hocus Pocus* in Philoſophy, they nevertheleſs accuſe others of Error, for placing the Moon, which they hold to be Earth, on high, and not in the Middle or Center of the World. And yet, if every heavy Body inclines towards the ſame Place, and does from all ſides, and with every one of its Parts, tend to its Middle or Center, the Earth certainly will not appropriate & challenge to its ſelf theſe ponderous Maſſes, which are its Parts, becauſe it is the Center of the Univerſe, but rather becauſe it is the Whole; and this gathering together of heavy Bodies round about it will

will not be a Sign, ſhewing it to be the middle of the World; but an Argument, to prove and teſtify, that theſe Bodies which had been pluckt from it, and again return to it, have a Communication and Conformity of Nature with the Earth. For as the Sun changes into himſelf the Parts, of which he is compos'd; ſo the Earth receives a Stone, as a Part belonging to it, in ſuch manner, that every one of theſe things is in time united, and incorporated with it; and if peradventure there is ſome other Body, which was not from the Beginning allotted to the Earth, nor has been ſeparated from it, but had its own proper and peculiar Conſiſtence and Nature apart, as theſe Men may ſay of the Moon, what hinders, but it may continue ſeparated by its ſelf being kept cloſe, compacted, and bound together by its own Parts? For they do not demonſtrate, that the Earth is the Middle of the Univerſe: and this Conglomeration of heavy Bodies, which are here, and their Coalition with the Earth, ſhews us the manner, how it is probable, that the Parts, which are aſſembled in the Body of the Moon, continue alſo there. But as for him, who drives and ranges together in one Place all earthly and ponderous things, making them Part of one and the ſame Body; I wonder, that he does not attribute alſo the ſame Neceſſity and Conſtraint to light Subſtances, but leaves ſo many Conglomerations of Fire ſeparated one from another; nor can I ſee, why he ſhould not amaſs together all the Stars, and think, that there ought to be but one Body of all thoſe Subſtances which fly upwards.

But you Mathematicians, Friend *Apollonides*, ſay that the Sun is diſtant from the *Primum Mobile* infinite * thouſands of Miles, and after him the Day Star, or *Venus*, *Mercury*, and other Plannets, which, being ſituated under the fixed Stars, and ſeparated from one another by great Intervals, make their Revolutions; and in the mean time you think that the World affords not to heavy and terreſtrial Bodies any great ond leage Place, or Diſtance

* Gr. Μυριάδας σταδίων, that is, ten-thouſand of *Stadia* or *Furlongs*.

ſtance one from another. You plainly ſee, it would be ridiculous, if we ſhould deny the Moon to be Earth, becauſe it is not ſeated in the loweſt Region of the World, and yet affirm it to be a Star, tho' ſo many Millions of Miles remote from the Firmament or *Primum Mobile*, as if it were plung'd into ſome deep Gulf; for ſhe is ſo low before all other Stars, that the Meaſure of the Diſtances cannot be expreſs'd and; You Mathematicians, want Numbers to compute and reckon it; but ſhe in a manner touches the Earth, making her Revolution ſo near the Tops of the Mountains, that ſhe ſeems, as *Empedocles* has it, to leave even the very Tracks of her Chariot-Wheels behind her: For oftentimes ſhe ſurpaſſes not the ſhadow of the Earth, which is very ſhort thro' the exceſſive Greatneſs of the Sun, that ſhines upon it; but ſeems to turn ſo near the *Superficies*, and, as one may ſay, between the Arms, and in the Boſom of the Earth, that it withholds from her the Light of the Sun becauſe ſhe mounts that ſhady, earthly and nocturnal Region, which is the Lot and inheritance of the Earth. And therefore I am of Opinion, we may boldly ſay that the Moon is within the Limits and Confines of the Earth, ſeeing that ſhe is even darkned by the Summits of its Mountains.

But leaving the Stars, as well erring as fix'd, ſee what *Ariſtarchus* proves and demonſtrates in his Treatiſe *of Magnitudes* and *Diſtances*, that the Diſtance of the Sun is above eighteen times, and under twenty times, greater than that of the Moon from us. And yet they, who place her loweſt, ſay that her Diſtance from us contains ſix and fifty of the Earth's Semediameters, that is, that ſhe is ſix and fifty times as far from us, as we are from the Center of the Earth; which is forty thouſand *Stadia*. And therefore, according to thoſe who make their Computation moderately, the Sun is above four Millions and three hundred thouſand *Stadia* diſtant from the Moon; ſo far is ſhe from the Sun by reaſon of her Gravity, and ſo near does ſhe approach to the Earth. So that if Subſtances are to be diſtinguiſh'd by Places, the Portion and Region of the Earth challenges to it ſelf

the

the Moon, which by reaſon of Neighbourhood and Proximity, has a Right to be reputed and reckon'd amongſt the terreſtrial Natures and Bodies. Nor ſhall we, in my Opinion, do amiſs, if having given to theſe Bodies, which are ſaid to be above, ſo vaſt an Interval and Diſtance, we leave alſo to thoſe which are below, ſome Space and Room to turn them in, ſuch as is that between the Earth and the Moon. For neither is he, who calls only the utmoſt *Superficies* of the Earth Ἄνω, or *Above*, or all the reſt Κάτω or *Beneath*, moderate or tolerable; nor is he to be endur'd, who confines τὸ κάτω, or Inferiority; only to the Earth, or rather to its Center: Seeing the vaſt Greatneſs of the World may afford Means for the Aſſigning farther to this lower Part ſome ſuch Space, as is neceſſary for Motion.* Now againſt him, who holds, that whatever is above the Earth, is immediately high, ſuperior and ſublime, there is preſently another Oppoſition to encounter and contradict it, that whatever is beneath the Sphere of the fixt Stars, ought to be call'd low & inferior.

In a Word, how is the Earth ſaid to be the Middle, and of what is it the Middle? For Πᾶν, or the Univerſe, is infinite; and Infinite having neither Beginning nor End; 'tis convenient alſo, that it ſhould not have any Middle; for the Middle is a certain End or Limit; but Infiniteneſs is a Privation of all ſorts of Limits. Now he that affirms the Earth to be the Middle, not of the Univerſe, but of the World, is certainly a pleaſant Man, if he does not think, that the World it ſelf is ſubject to the ſame Doubts and Difficulties: For the Univerſe has not left a Middle even to the very World, but being without any certain Seat or Foundation, it is carri'd in an infinite Voidneſs not to any Place that is proper for it. And if perhaps having met with ſome other Cauſe or ſtay, it has ſtopt, not according to the Nature of the Place, as much may be conjectur'd of the Moon, that by the Means of another Soul, and another Nature, or to ſay better, of another Difference, the Earth continues firm here below, and the Moon moves. Beſides this, ſee, whether they are not igno-

rant of a great Inconvenience and Error: for if 'tis true, that all which is without the Center of the Earth, however it be, is above, there will then be no Part of the World below, but the Earth, and all that is upon it, will be above; and in brief, every Body that ſhall be near or about the Center, will be above, and there will be nothing below or underneath, but one only Point, which has no Body, which will of neceſſity make head againſt, and oppoſe all the reſt of the Worlds Nature, if *Above* and *Beneath*, *High* and *Low*, are naturally oppoſite to one another. Nor is this the only Abſurdity, that will follow, but all heavy and ponderous Bodies will alſo loſe the Cauſe, for which they move and tend downwards hither, for there will be no Body below, to which they ſhould move; and as for that which is incorporeal, 'tis not probable, neither will they themſelves allow it to be ſo forcible, as to draw and retain all things about it ſelf. But if it is unreaſonable and contrary to Nature, that the whole World ſhould be Above, and that there ſhould be nothing Below, but an incorporeal and indiviſible Term or Limit, then is this, as we ſay, yet more reaſonable, that the Region above, and that below, being divided the one from the other, have nevertheleſs each of them a large and ſpacious Room.

Nevertheleſs, ſuppoſing, if you pleaſe, that 'tis againſt Nature, for earthly Bodies to have any Motions in Heaven; let us conſider leiſurely and mildly, and not violently, as is done in Tragedies, that this is no Proof of the Moons not being Earth, but only that Earth is in a Place, where by Nature it ſhould not be; for the Fire of Mount *Ætna* is indeed againſt Nature under Ground, nevertheleſs it ceaſes not to be Fire. And the Wind, contain'd within Bottles, is indeed of its own Nature light, and inclin'd to aſcend, but is yet by force conſtrain'd to be there, where naturally it ſhould not be. And is not our very Soul, I beſeech you in the Name of *Jupiter*, which as your ſelves ſay, is light, of a fiery Subſtance, and imperceptible to Senſe, included within the Body, which is heavy, cold and palpable?

palpable? Yet we do not therefore ſay, that the Soul is nothing within the Body; or that it is not a Divine Subſtance under a groſs and heavy Maſs, or that it does not in a moment paſs thro' Heaven, Earth and Sea, pierce into the Fleſh, Nerves and Marrow, and is with the Humors the Cauſe of a thouſand Paſſions. And even your *Jupiter*, ſuch as you imagin him, and depaint him to be, is he not of his own Nature a great and perpetual Fire? Yet now he ſubmits, is pliable, and transform'd into all things by ſeveral Mutations. Take heed therefore, good Sir, leaſt by transferring and reducing every thing to the Place, aſſign'd it by Nature, you ſo Philoſophize, as to bring in a Diſſolution of the whole World, and put all things again into that State of Enmity, mention'd by *Empedocles*, or, to ſpeak more properly, leſt you raiſe up againſt thoſe ancient *Titans* and Giants, to put on Arms again Nature, and endeavour to introduce again that fabulous Diſorder and Confuſion, where all that is heavy, goes one way apart, and all that is light, another;

Where neither Suns bright Face is ſeen,
Nor Earth beheld, ſpred o'er with Green,
Nor the ſalt Sea,——

as *Empedocles* has it; where the Earth feels no Heat, nor the Air any Wind, where no heavy thing is mov'd upwards, nor any light thing downwards; but the Principles of all things are ſolitary, without any mutual Love or Dilection one to another, not admitting any Society or Mixture together; but ſhining and avoiding all Communication, moving ſeparately by particular Motions, as being diſdainful, proud and altogether carrying themſelves in ſuch manner, as every thing does, from which, as *Plato* ſays, God is abſent; that is, as thoſe Bodies do, in which there is neither Soul nor Underſtanding; till ſuch time as by Divine Providence, Deſire coming into Nature, engenders there Amity, *Venus* and Love, as *Empedocles*, *Parmenides* and *Heſiod* have it, to the end that changing their natural Places and reciprocally communicating their Faculties, ſome being

by Neceſſity bound to Motion, others to Quiet an Reſt, and all tending to the better, every thing remit ting a little of its Power, and yielding a little from it Place, they make at length an Harmony, Accord, an Society together. For if there had not been any othe part of the World againſt Nature, but every thing ha been in the ſame Place and Quality, it naturally ough to be, without ſtanding in need of any Change o Tranſpoſition, or having had any Occaſion for it from the Beginning; I know not what the Work of Divin Providence is, or in what it conſiſts, or of what *Jupi ter* has been the Father, Creator or Worker. Fo there would not in a Camp be any need of a Man, wh is well skill'd in the Art of ranging and ordering o Battles, if every Soldier of himſelf knew and under ſtood his Rank, Place and Station, and the Opportu nity he ought to take and keep; nor would there be a want of Gard'ners or Builders, if Water were of it fel fram'd to flow where it is neceſſary, and irrigate ſuch Plants as ſtand in need of watering; or if Bricks, Tim ber and Stones would of their own Inclinations and Na tural Motion range and ſettle themſelves in due an fitting Places and Orders. Now if this Diſcourſe ma nifeſtly takes away Providence, and if the ordering an Diſtinction of things that are in the World, belongs t God, why ſhould we wonder at Natures having bee ſo diſpos'd and ordain'd by him, that the Fire ſhoul be here, and the Stars there, and again the Earth ſhould be ſituated here below, and the Moon above, lodg'd in a more ſure and ſtrait Priſon, found out by Reaſon than that, which was firſt ordain'd by Nature? For i it were of abſolute Neceſſity, that all things ſhould fol low their natural Inſtinct, and move according to th Motion, given them by Nature, neither the Sun, *Venus* nor any other Planet, would any more run a circula Courſe; for light and fiery Subſtances have by Natur their Motion directly upwards. And if perhaps, Natur it ſelf receive this Permutation and Change by reaſon o the Place, that Fire, having its Motion here, ſhould i a direct Line tend upwards, but being once arriv'd a

Heaven,

Heaven, ſhould turn round with the Revolution of the Heavens, what wonder would it be, if heavy and terreſtrial Bodies, being in like manner out of their natural Place, are vanquiſh'd by the ambient Air, and forc'd to take another ſort of Motion. For it cannot with any Reaſon be ſaid, that Heaven has by Nature the Power to take away from light things the Property of mounting directly upwards, and cannot likewiſe have the force to overcome heavy things, and ſuch as tend downwards; but that ſometimetimes making uſe of this Power, and ſometimes of the proper Nature of the things, it ſtill orders every thing for the beſt.

But if laying aſide thoſe ſervile Habits and Opinions, to which we have enſlav'd our ſelves, we muſt frankly and fearleſly deliver our Judgment, it ſeems clear to me, that there is not any part of the Univerſe, which has a peculiar and ſeparate Rank, Situation or Motion, that can ſimply be ſaid to be natural to it. But when every thing exhibits and yields up it ſelf to be mov'd, as is moſt profitable and fit for that, for whoſe Sake it was made, and to which it is by Nature appointed, ſuffering, doing, or being diſpos'd, as is moſt expedient and meet for the Safety, Beauty and Power of the ſame, then it appears to have its Place, Motion and Diſpoſition according to Nature. As a Proof of this, we may obſerve. that Man, who, if any thing in the World be ſo, is made and diſpos'd according to Nature, has upwards, eſpecially about his Head, heavy and terreſtrial things, and about the Middle of his Body ſuch as are hot, and participate of Fire; of his Teeth alſo ſome grow upward, and ſome downwards, and yet neither the one nor the other are contrary to Nature; neither is the Fire, which ſhines in his Eyes, according to Nature, and that, which is in his Heart and Stomach, againſt it; but it is in each place properly and beneficially ſeated. Moreover, conſider the Nature of all Shell-fiſhes; and, that I may uſe the Words of *Empedocles*,

Leaſt

Look on the Crabs, the Oiſters of the Sea,
And Shell-fiſh all which heavy Coats enfold,
The Tortoiſe too with arched Back, whom we
Cover'd with Cruſt, as hard as Stone, behold:
View them but well, and plain it will appear,
They hardned Earth above their Bodies bear.

And yet this Cruſt, ſtone-like, hard and heavy, as it is thus plac'd over their Bodies, does not preſs and cruſh the Moiſture, inclos'd within them, nor on the contrary does their natural Heat fly upwards, by reaſon of its Lightneſs, and vaniſh away, but they are mangled and compos'd one with another, according to the Nature of every one.

Wherefore 'tis alſo probable, that the World, if it is an Animal, has in many parts of its Body, Earth, and in as many, Fire and Water, not thruſt and driven into it by Force, but order'd and diſpos'd by Reaſon; for neither was the Eye by its Lightneſs forc'd into that part of the Body, where it is, nor the Heart by its Gravity preſs'd down into the Breaſt; but both the one and the other were thus plac'd, becauſe it was better and more expedient. In like manner we ought not to think, that of the Parts of the World either the Earth ſetled, where it is, being beaten down thither by its Ponderoſity, or the Sun carri'd upwards by its Levity, like a Bottle or Bladder full of Wind, which, being plung'd into the bottom of the Water, immediately riſes up again, as *Metrodorus* of *Chios* was perſwaded, or that the other Stars, as if they had been put into a Ballance, were ſway'd this way or that way, according to their Weight or Lightneſs, and ſo mounted higher or lower to the Places they now poſſeſs. But Reaſon having prevail'd in the Conſtitution of the World, the Stars have, like to glittering Eyes, been fixt in the Firmament, as it were in the Face of the Univerſe, there to turn continually about; and the Sun, having the Force and Vigor of the Heart, ſends and diſtributes its Heat and Light, like Blood and Spirits, throughout all; the Earth and Sea are in the World, as the Paunch and Bladder

Bladder in the Body of a living Creature: And the Moon plac'd between the Sun and the Earth, as the Liver, or ſome other ſoft Entral between the Heart and the Belly, tranſmits down thither the Heat of the Superior Bodies, and draws round about her the Vapors which ariſe from hence, ſubtilizing them by way of Concoction and Purification. And whether its ſolid and terreſtrial Quality has any other Property, ſerving for ſome profitable Uſe, is indeed unknown to us; but 'tis however ſecureſt and beſt, in all things to hold what is neceſſary; for what Probability can we draw from that, which they affirm? They ſay, that the moſt ſubtile and luminous part of the Air, by reaſon of its Rarity, became Heaven; but what was thickned and cloſely driven together, was made into Stars, of which the Moon being the heavieſt, is compacted of the groſſeſt and muddieſt Matter. And yet 'tis plainly to be ſeen, that the Moon is not ſeparated or divided from the Air; but moves and makes her Revolution thro' that, which is about her, to wit, the Region of the Winds, and where the Comets are engendred, and keep their Courſe. Theſe Bodies then were not by a natural Inclination thus plac'd and ſituated as they are, but have by ſome other Reaſon been ſo order'd and diſpos'd.

Theſe things being ſaid, as I was giving *Lucius* his Turn to follow and continue the Diſcourſe, there being nothing left to be added, but the Demonſtrations of this Doctrine. *Ariſtotle*, ſmiling, ſaid, I am a Witneſs, that you have directed all your Contradictions, and all your Refutations againſt thoſe, who ſuppoſing the Moon to be half Fire, affirm in general, that all Bodies do of their own accord tend either upwards or downwards; but if there is any one, who holds, that the Stars have of their own Nature a circular Motion, and that they are of a ſubſtance wholly different from the four Elements, you have not thought of ſaying any thing, ſo much as accidentally, or by the way, againſt him; and therefore I am wholly unconcern'd in your Diſcourſe.

Indeed,

Indeed, good Sir, ſaid *Lucius*, if you ſhould ſuppoſe the other Stars, and the whole Heaven apart, to be of a pure and ſincere Nature, free from all Change and Alteration of Paſſion, and ſhould bring in alſo a Circle, in which they make their Motion by a perpetual Revolution, you would not perhaps find any one now to contradict you, though there are in this infinite Doubts and Difficulties. But when the * Diſcourſe deſcends ſo far, as to touch the Moon, it cannot maintain in her that Perfection of being exempt from all Paſſion and Alteration, nor the heavenly Beauty of that Body. But to let paſs all other Inequalities and Differences, the very Face, which appears in the Body of the Moon, neceſſarily proceeds from ſome Paſſion of her own Subſtance, or the Mixture of another; for what is mix'd, ſuffers, becauſe it loſes its firſt Purity, being fill'd by force with that which is worſe. Beſides, as for the ſlowneſs and dulneſs of her Courſe, her feeble and inefficacious heat, by which, as *Ion* ſays,

The black Grape comes not to maturity,

to what ſhall we attribute them but to her Weakneſs and Paſſion; if an eternal and celeſtial Body can be ſubject to Paſſion?

In brief, my Friend *Ariſtotle*, if the Moon is Earth, ſhe is a moſt fair and admirable thing, and excellently well adorn'd, but if you regard her as a Star, or Light, or a certain divine and heavenly Body, I am afraid, ſhe will prove deform'd and foul, and diſgrace that beautiful Appellation, if of all thoſe Bodies, which are in Heaven ſo numerous, ſhe alone ſtands in need of Light, borrow'd of another, and, as *Parmenides* has it,

Looks always backwards on the Suns bright Rays.

Our Friend, therefore indeed, having in a Lecture of his, demonſtrated this Propoſition of *Anaxagoras*, that the Sun communicates to the Moon, what brightneſs ſhe has, was well eſteem'd for it. As for me, I will not ſay, what I have learnt of you, or with you, but having

* For ἥλιος I read ὁ λόγος,

ving taken it for granted, will paſs on to the reſt. 'Tis then probable, that the Moon is illuminated, not like a Glaſs or Chriſtal, by the brightneſs of the Suns Rays, ſhining thro' her; nor yet again, by a certain Colluſtration and Conjunction of Light and Brightneſs, as when many Torches ſet together, augment the Light of one another. For ſo ſhe would be no leſs full in her Conjunction, or firſt Quarter, than in her Oppoſition, if ſhe did not obſtruct or repel the Rays of the Sun, but let them paſs thro' her by reaſon of her Rarity; or if he did by a Contemperature ſhine upon her, and kindle the Light within her. For we cannot alledge her Declinations and Averſions in the Conjunction or new Moon, as when it is half Moon, or when ſhe appears tipt, creſcent, or in the Wane; but being then perpendicularly, as *Democritus* ſays, under him, that illuminates her, ſhe receives and admits the Sun; ſo that then 'tis probable ſhe ſhould appear, and he ſhine thro' her. But this ſhe is ſo far from doing, that ſhe is not only then unſeen, but alſo often hides the Sun, as *Empedocles* has it;

The Suns bright Beams from us ſhe turns aſide,
And of the Earth it ſelf as much doth hide,
As her Orbs breadth can cover: ———

As if the Light of the Sun fell not upon another Star, but upon Night and Darkneſs. And as for what *Poſidonius* ſays, that the Depth of the Moons Body is the Cauſe, why the Light of the Sun cannot pierce thro' her to us, this is evidently refuted; for the Air, which is infinite, and of a far greater Depth than the Body of the Moon, is nevertheleſs all over illuſtrated and enlightned by the Rays of the Sun. It remains then, that according to the Opinion of *Empedocles*, the Light of the Moon, which appears to us, comes from the Repercuſſion and Reflection of the Suns Beams. And for this reaſon, it comes not to us hot and bright, as in all probability it would, if her Shining proceeded either from Inflammation, or the Commixtion of two Lights. But as Voices, reverberated cauſe an *Echo*, or Reſounding more obſcure, and leſs expreſs then the Speech,

Speech, that was pronounc'd, and as the Blows of Darts and Arrows, rebounding from ſome Wall, againſt which they were ſhot, are more mild and gentle:

So * Titans *Luſtre, ſmiting the Moons Orb,*

yields but a faint and feeble Reflexion and Refuſion of Brightneſs upon us, its Force being abated and weakned by the Refraction.

* The Sun ſo call'd from *Titan*, Brother to *Saturn*, whoſe Son *Hyperion* was Father to *Sol*.

Sylla then, taking up the Diſcourſe, ſaid, There is indeed a great deal of probability in all that you have ſpoken: But as to the ſtrongeſt Objection, that is brought againſt it, has it, think you, been any way weakned by this Diſcourſe? Or has our Friend quite paſs'd it over in Silence?

What Oppoſition do you mean, ſaid *Lucius*? Is it the Difficulty about the Moon, when one half of her appears enlightned?

The very ſame, anſwer'd *Sylla*: For there is ſome Reaſon, ſeeing that all Reflection is made by equal Angles, that when the Half-Moon is in the midſt of Heaven, the Light, proceeding from her, ſhould not be carri'd upon the Earth, but glance, and fall beyond and on one ſide of it. For the Sun, being plac'd in the Horizon, touches the Moon with its Beams, which, being equally refracted, will therefore neceſſarily fall on the other Bound of the Horizon, and not ſend their Light down hither; or elſe there will be a great Diſtortion and Difference of the Angle, which is impoſſible.

And yet by *Jupiter*, reply'd *Lucius*, this has not been forgotten, or overpaſs'd, but already ſpoken to. And caſting his Eye, as he was diſcourſing upon the Mathematician *Menelaus*, I am aſham'd, ſaid he, in your Preſence, dear *Menelaus*, to attempt the ſubverting and overthrowing of a Mathematical Poſition, which is ſuppos'd, as a Baſis and Foundation to the Doctrine of the *Catoptricks* concerning the Cauſes and Reaſons of Mirrors. And yet of neceſſity I muſt: For it neither appears of it ſelf, nor is confeſs'd as true, that all Reflexi-

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ons tend to equal Angles; but this Poſition is firſt check'd and contradicted in embos'd and convex Mirrors, when they repreſent the Images of things, appearing at one Point of the Sight, greater than the things themſelves. And it is alſo diſprov'd by double Mirrors, which being inclin'd or turn'd one towards the other, the Angle is made within, and each of the Glaſſes or plain Superficies yields a double Reſemblance; ſo that there are four Images from the ſame Face, two anſwerable to the Parts without on the left ſide, and two others obſcure, and not ſo evident on the right ſide in the Bottom of the Mirror, where they yield Reſemblances, appearing greater than themſelves, at one only Point of the Sight. The ſame alſo is overthrown by thoſe Mirrors, that are concave or hollow, wherein the Aſpect is variable, of which *Plato* renders the efficient Cauſe; for he ſays, that, a Mirror being rais'd on the one and other ſide, the Sight varies the Reflection, falling from the one ſide to the other. And therefore, ſince of the Views or Viſions, ſome immediately have recourſe to us, and others, ſliding on the oppoſite part of the Mirror, do again return upon us from thence, 'tis not poſſible, that all Reflections ſhould be made at equal Angles: 'Tho' thoſe, who cloſely impugn our Opinion, contend, that by theſe Deflections of Light from the Moon upon the Earth, the Equality of Angles is taken away, thinking this to be much more probable than the other.

Nevertheleſs, if we muſt of neceſſity yield and grant thus much to our dearly beloved Geometry, firſt, this ſhould in all likelihood befall thoſe Mirrors which are perfectly ſmooth, and exquiſitly poliſh'd; whereas the Moon has many Inequalities and Roughneſſes, ſo that the Rays, proceeding from a vaſt Body, and carri'd to mighty Altitudes, receive one from another, and intercommunicate their Lights, which, being ſent to and fro, and reciprocally diſtributed, are refracted and interlac'd all manner of ways, and the Counter-Lights meet one another, as if they came to us from ſeveral Mirrors. And then, tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe theſe Reflections

flections on the Superficies of the Moon to be made at equal Angles, yet 'tis not impoſſible, that the Rays, coming down unto us by ſo long an Interval, may have their Flections, Fractions and Delapſions, that the Light, being compounded, may ſhine the more. Some alſo there are, who prove by lineary Demonſtration, that ſhe ſends much of her Light down to the Earth by a direct Line, drawn plumb under her, as ſhe inclines. But to make the Deſcription and Delineation of it thus publickly, eſpecially, where there were ſo many Auditors, was not very eaſie. But in brief, ſaid he, I wonder, how they come thus to alledge againſt us the Half Moon, there being the ſame Reaſon, when ſhe is on both ſides emboſs'd and creſcent. For if the Sun enlightned the Moon, as a Maſs of ætherial or fiery Matter, he would never ſurely leave one Hemiſphere, or half of her Globe always appearing dark and ſhadowy to Senſe, as it is ſeen to be; but how little ſoever he touch'd her Superficies, it would be agreeable to Reaſon, that ſhould be wholly repleniſh'd, and totally chang'd by that light of his, which by reaſon of its Agility and Swiftneſs, ſo eaſily ſpreads and paſſes thro' all. For, ſince Wine, touching Water only in one Point, or one Drop of Blood, falling into any Liquor, dies and colours it all with a red or purple Colour; and ſince they ſay, that the very Air is alter'd & chang'd with Light, not by any Defluctions or Beams intermingled, but by a ſudden Converſion and Change made in one only Point; *how can* they imagine, that one Star, touching another Star, and one Light another Light, ſhould not be immediately mingled, nor make any thorow Confuſion or Change; but only exteriorly illuminate that, whoſe Superficies it touches. For that Circle, which the Sun *makes by fetching* a Compaſs, and turning towards the Moon, ſometimes falling upon the very Line, that diſtinguiſhes her viſible Part from her invisible, and ſometimes riſing up directly, ſo that it cuts her in two, and is reciprocally cut by her, caſting in her by ſeveral Inclinations and Habitudes of the Luminous to the Dark, thoſe various Forms, by which ſhe appears but Half Emboſs'd on

both

both ſides, Horned and Creſcent; that, more than any thing elſe, demonſtrates, that all this Illumination, of the Moon is not a Mixture, but only a Touching? nor a Conflux or Gathering together of ſundry Lights, but only an Illuſtration round about.

But for as much as ſhe is not only enlightned her ſelf, but alſo ſends back hither the Image of her Illumination, this confirms us yet farther, in what we ſay touching her Subſtance. For Reflections and Reverberations are not made upon any thing, which is rare, and of thin and ſubtil Parts, nor is it eaſily to be imagin'd, how Light can rebound from Light, or one Fire from another; but that, which is to make the Reverberation or Reflection, muſt be ſolid and firm, that a *Blow may be given againſt it, and a Rebounding made from it. As a Proof of this, we ſee, that the Air tranſmits the Sun and gives him away to pierce quite thro' it, not obſtructing or driving back his Rays; but on the contrary from Wood, Stones, or Clothes put in the Sun, there are made many Reflections of Light, and many Illuminations round about. So we ſee that the Earth is Illuminated by him, not to the very Bottom, as the Water, nor throughly and all over, as the Air, thro' which the Beams of the Sun have a clear Paſſage; but juſt ſuch a Circle, as he makes in turning about the Moon, and as much as he cuts off from her, with ſuch another does he compaſs the Earth, and ſo much does he enlighten the reſt being left without Light; for what is Illuminated both in the one and in the other, is little more then an Hemiſphere. Permit me therefore now to conclude after the manner of Geometricians by Proportions, If there are three things, which the Light of the Sun approaches, the Air, the Moon, and the Earth, and if we ſee that the Moon is enlightned by him, not as the Air, but as the Earth, 'tis of neceſſity that thoſe two things muſt have one and the ſame Nature, which of one and the ſame Cauſe ſuffer the ſame Effects.

Now when all the Company began highly to commend [illegible] Harangue: This is excellently well done of you, *Lucius*, (ſaid I to him,) that you have ſo fine

a Diſcourſe added as fine a Proportion, for you muſt not be defrauded of that, which is your Due.

Then *Lucius*, ſmiling, thus went on; I have yet a ſecond Proportion to be added to the former, by which we will clearly demonſtrate, that the Moon altogether reſembles the Earth, not only becauſe they ſuffer and receive the ſame Accidents from the ſame Cauſe, but becauſe they work the ſame Effect on the ſame Object. For you will without Difficulty, I ſuppoſe, grant me, that of all the Accidents which befal the Sun, there is none ſo like to his Setting, as his Eclipſe, eſpecially if you but call to mind that * Conjunction, which happened not many years ſince, and, beginning immediately after Noon, ſhew'd us many Stars in many Places of the Heavens, and wrought ſuch a Temperature in the Air as is that of the Twilight in the Evening or Morning. But if you will not grant me this, our Friend *Theon* here will bring us a *Mimnernus*, a *Cydias*, an *Archilochus*, and beſides theſe, a *Steſichorus* and a *Pindar*, lamenting, that in Eclipſes the World is rob'd of its brighteſt Light, and ſaying, that Night comes on in the midſt of the Day, and that the Rays of the Sun wander in the Path of Darkneſs; but above all, he will produce *Homer*, ſaying, that the Faces of Men were [in Eclipſes] ſeiz'd upon by Night and Darkneſs, and the Sun quite loſt out of Heaven by the Conjunction of the Moon. And ********** ********** ********** ********** 'Tis natural, that this ſhould happen, if I may uſe *Homer's* Words,

When one Moon's going, and another comes.

* Our Author is here ſuppos'd to mean that Darkneſs, which cover'd the Face of the Earth at the Time of our Bleſſed Saviours Paſſion, which continu'd from the ſixth Hour to the ninth that is from Noon till three a Clock.

*** What is here loſt, ſeems ro have been ſome Diſcourſe concerning the Change of the Moon: for that the Sun's Eclipſe cannot by the Courſe of Nature, be at any other time.

For the reſt of the Demonſtration is, in my Opinion, as certain, and exactly concluding, as are the acute Arguments of the Mathematicks. As Night is the Shadow of the Earth, ſo the Eclipſe of the Sun is the Shadow of the Moon, when the Sight returns upon it ſelf. For the Sun is at his ſetting kept from our Sight by the Interpoſition of the Earth, and at his Eclipſe by that of the Moon. Now both of theſe are Obſcurations; but that of his Setting is from the Earth, and, that of his being Eclips'd from the Moon, their Shadows intercepting our Sight. Now the Conſequences of theſe things are eaſily underſtood. For if the effect is alike, the efficient Cauſes are alſo alike; becauſe it is of neceſſity, that the ſame Effect, happening in the ſame Subjects, proceed from the ſame Efficients. Now if the Darkneſs in Eclipſes is not ſo profound, nor does ſo forcibly and entirely ſeize the Air, as does the Night, we are not to wonder at it; for the Subſtance of the Body, which makes the Night, and of that which cauſes the Eclipſe, is indeed the ſame, tho' their Greatneſs is not equal. For the *Ægyptians*, if I am not miſtaken, hold, that the Moon is in Bigneſs the two and ſeventieth Part of the Earth; and *Anaxagoras* ſays, ſhe is as big as *Peloponneſus*: And *Ariſtarchus* ſhews the overthwart Line, or Diameter of the Moon, to have a Proportion to that of the Earth, which is leſs, then if ſixty were compar'd to nineteen, and ſomewhat greater, than an hundred and eight compar'd to forty and three. Whence it happens, that the Earth, by reaſon of its Greatneſs, wholly withdraws the Sun from our Sight: For 'tis a great Obſtacle and Oppoſition, and laſts all the Night. But the Moon, altho' ſhe ſometimes hides all the Sun, yet that Eclipſe continues not ſo long, nor is ſo far extended, but there always appears about the Circumference a certain Brightneſs, which permits not the Darkneſs to be black, deep and perfectly obſcure.

And *Ariſtotle*, I mean the ancient Philoſopher of that Name, rendring the Reaſon, why there are oftner ſeen to happen Eclipſes of the Moon, than of the Sun, among other Cauſes alledges this, that the Sun is e-

clips'd by the interpoſition of the Moon, and the Moon by that of the Earth, which is much greater, and more capacious, and conſequently oftner oppoſes it ſelf. And *Poſidonius* thus defines this Accident: The Eclipſe of the Sun is the Conjunction of the Sun and Moon, the Shadow of which darkens our Sight. For there is no Eclipſe, but only to thoſe, whoſe Sight the Shadow of the Moon intercepting, hinders them from ſeeing the Sun. Now in confeſſing, that the Shadow of the Moon deſcends down to us, I know not what he has eſt himſelf to ſay. 'Tis certainly impoſſible for a Star to caſt a Shadow; for that, which is not enlightned, is call'd a Shadow, and Light makes no Shadow, but on the contrary drives it away. But what Arguments, ſaid, he, were alledg'd after this?

The Moon, anſwer'd I then, ſuffer'd the ſame Eclipſe.

You have done well, repli'd he, to put me in mind of it. But would you have me go on, and proſecute the reſt of the Diſcourſe, as if you had already ſuppos'd and granted, that the Moon is eclips'd, being intercepted within the Shadow of the Earth? Or ſhall I take for the Subject of a Declamation the making a Demonſtration of it by rehearſing to you all the Arguments, one after another?

Nay by *Jove*, ſaid *Theon*, let this be the Argument of your diſcourſe. For I indeed ſtand in need of ſome Perſwaſion, having only heard, that, when theſe three Bodies, the Earth, the Moon and the Sun are in a direct *Line*, then Eclipſes happen; for that either the *Earth* takes the Sun from the Moon, or the Moon takes him from the Earth. For the Sun then ſuffers an Eclipſe or Defect, when the Moon, and the Moon, when the Earth is in the midſt of three; of which the one happens in the Conjunction, or New Moon, and the other in the Oppoſition, or when the Moon is full.

Then ſaid *Lucius*; Theſe are the principal Points, and the Summary of what is ſaid. But in the firſt place, if you pleaſe, take the Argument, drawn from the Form and Figure of the Shadow, which is that of a *Cone* or *Pyramid*, with the ſharp end forward, as be-

ing, when a great Fire or Sight, that is round, or ſphærical, encompaſſes a Maſs, that is alſo globular, but leſs; whence it comes, that in the Eclipſes of the Moon, the Circumſcriptions of the Black and Dark, from the Clear and Luminous, have their Sections always round. For the Approaches of a round Body, which way ſoever it goes, whether it gives or receives Sections, do by reaſon of the Similitude always keep a circular Form. Now as for the ſecond Argument, I ſuppoſe you underſtand, that the firſt Part, which is Eclips'd in the Moon, is always that, which looks towards the Eaſt; and in the Sun that, which regards the Weſt: Now the Shadow of the Earth moves from the Eaſt to the Weſt; but the Sun and Moon from the Weſt Eaſtward. The Experience of the Appearences gives us a viſible Knowledge of this, nor is there need of many Words, to make us fully underſtand it, and from theſe Suppoſitions the Cauſe of the Eclipſe is confirm'd. For, inaſmuch as the Sun is eclips'd by being overtaken, and the Moon by meeting that, which makes the Eclipſe, it probably, or rather neceſſarily follows, that the one is ſurpriz'd behind, and the other before. For the Obſtruction begins on that ſide, whence that which cauſes it, firſt approaches. Now the Moon comes upon the Sun from the Weſt, as ſtriving in courſe with him, and haſtning after him; but the Shadow of the Earth comes from the Eaſt, as that which has a contrary Motion. The third Argument is taken from the Time and Greatneſs of the Eclipſes. For the Moon, if ſhe is eclips'd, when ſhe is on high in her *Apogeon*, or at her fartheſt diſtance from the Earth, continues but a little in her defect or want of Light: But when ſhe ſuffers the ſame Accident, being low, and in her *Proſgeon* or near the Earth, ſhe is very much oppreſs'd, and ſlowly gets out of the Shadow; and yet, when ſhe is low, ſhe moves ſwifter, and when high, ſlower. But the Cauſe of the difference is in the Shadow, which is, like *Pyramids*, broadeſt at the bottom or *Baſis*, and, growing ſtill narrower by little and little, terminates in a ſharp point at the Top.

Whence it comes, that when ſhe is low, ſhe is embarraſs'd within greater Circles, traverſing the bottom of the Shadow, and what is moſt obſcure and dark: but when ſhe is high, being thro' the narrowneſs o the Shadow, as it were but in a ſhallow Puddle, b which ſhe is but little ſully'd, ſhe immediately gets ou again. I omit the Effects, which have particula Cauſes. For we ſee, that Fire ſhines forth and appear brighter out of a dark and ſhady Place, thro' the thickneſs of the caliginous Air, which admits no Effluxions or Diffuſions of the Fires Vertue, but keeps ir and contains its Subſtance within it ſelf; or rather, i this is a Paſſion of the Senſe, as hot things, when nea to cold ones are felt to be hotter, and Pleaſures imme diately after Pains are found more vehement; ſo thing that are bright appear better, when they ar nea to ſuch as are obſcure, by means of different Paſſions which more ſtrain and extend the Imagination. Bu there ſeems to be a greater Appearance of Probabilit in the firſt Reaſon: For in the Sun all the Nature c Fire not only loſes its Faculty of illuminating, but i alſo rendred duller and more unapt to burn, becauſ the Heat of the Sun diſſipates and ſcatters all its Force.

If it were then true, that the Moon, *being*, as th *Stoics* ſay, a muddy and troubled Star, has a weak an and duskiſh Fire, it would be meet that ſhe ſhould *ſuf*fer none of theſe Accidents, which ſhe is now ſeen to ſuffer, but altogether the contrary; to wit, that ſhe ſhould be ſeen when ſhe is hidden; and abſconded when ſhe appears; that is, ſhe ſhould be conceal'd all the reſt of the time, being obſcur'd by the environing *Air*, and again ſhine forth, and become apparent and manifeſt for ſix Months together, and afterwards diſappear again five Months, entring into the Shadow of the Earth. For of four hundred ſixty and five Revolutions of Lunary Eclipſes, four hundred and four are of ſix Months to ſix, and the reſt [illegible]. The Moon then ſhould all this time appear ſhining in the Shadow; but on the contrary we ſee, that in the Sha-

dow ſhe is eclips'd and Loſes her Light, and recovers it again, after ſhe is eſcap'd and got forth of the Shadow. Nay, ſhe appears often in the day time, ſo that ſhe is rather any thing elſe, then a fiery and ſtarry Body.

Theſe things as ſoon as *Lucius* had ſaid, *Pharnaces* and *Apollonides* ran both together upon him, to oppugn and refute his Diſcourſe; and then *Pharnaces*, aſſiſted by *Apollonides*, who was preſent, and gave him way, ſaid This it is, that principally ſhews the Moon to be a Star, and of a fiery Nature, that in her Eclipſes ſhe is not wholly obſcur'd, and diſappearing; but ſhews her ſelf with a certain Coal-reſembling Colour, terrible to the Sight, yet ſuch as is proper to her.

As for *Apollonides*, he inſiſted much in oppoſition to the Word *Shadow*, ſaying, that the Mathematicians always give that Name to the Place, which is not enlightned, and that Heaven admits no Shadow.

To this I thus anſwer'd: This Inſtance is rather alledg'd obſtinately againſt the Name, than naturally or mathematically againſt the Thing? for if one will not call the Place obfuſcated by the Oppoſition of the Earth, a Shadow, but a Place depriv'd of Light, yet be it what it will, you muſt of neceſſity confeſs, that the Moon being there, becomes obſcure; and every way ſaid I, 'tis a Folly to deny, that the Shadow of the Earth reaches thither from whence the Shadow of the Moon, falling upon our Sight here on Earth, cauſes the Eclipſe of the Sun. And therefore I now addreſs my ſelf to you, *Pharnaces*: For this coal-like and burnt Colour of the Moon, which you affirm to be proper to her, belongs to a Body, that has Thickneſs and depth: For there is not wont to remain any Relic, Mark or Print of Flame in a Body, that is rare; nor can a Coal be made, where there is not a ſolid Body, which may receive into it the Heat of the Fire, as *Homer* himſelf ſhews in a certain Paſſage where he ſays,

When the Fires Flow'r was vaniſht, and quite dead
Its Flame, then the left Coals abroad he ſpread.

For the Coal ſeems not properly a Fire, but a Body enkindled and alter'd by the Fire, ſtaying and remaining in a ſolid Maſs, and which has, as it were taken Root; whereas Flames are the ſetting on Fire and Fluctions of a Nutriment and Matter, which is of a rare Subſtance and by reaſon of its Weakneſs makes no long Reſidence, but is quickly reſolv'd and conſum'd; ſo that there could not be any more evident and plain Argument, to demonſtrate, that the Moon is ſolid and earthly, than if her proper Colour were that of a Coal. But it is not ſo, my Friend *Pharnaces*, but in her Eclipſes ſhe diverſly changes her Colours, which the Mathematicians, determining with reſpect to the Time and Hour, thus diſtinguiſh. If ſhe is eclips'd in the Evening, ſhe appears horribly black for above three hours an an half; if about Midnight, ſhe ſends forth this reddiſh and Fire reſembling Colour, and after ſeven hours and an half there ariſes a Redneſs indeed; and finally, if about the Dawning of the Morning or Sun riſe, ſhe takes a blew or grayiſh Colour; which is the Cauſe, why ſhe is by the Poets, and particularly by *Empedocles*, call'd *Glaucopis*, or Grey-ey'd. Since then they clearly ſee that the Moon changes into ſo many Colours in the Shadow, they do ill to attribute to her only that of a burning Coal, which may be ſaid to be leſs proper to her, then any other, being only a ſmall Remnant and Semblance of Light, appearing and ſhining thro' a Shadow, her own proper Colour being black and earthy. And ſince that here below, the Rivers and Lakes, which receive the Rays of the Sun, ſeeming to take on their Superficies ſometimes a red Colour, ſometimes a violet one; the neighbouring ſhady Places take the ſame Appearances of Colours, and are illuminated by them, caſting and ſending back by reaſon of Reflections ſeveral rebated Splendors; what wonder is it, if a copious Flux of a Shadow, falling like a great River, or an immenſe cæleſtial Sea of a Light, not ſteady and quiet, but agitated by [illegible] ble Stars walking over it, and beſides admitting ſeveral Mixtures and Mutations in it ſelf, takes from the

the Moon the Impreſſion ſometimes of one Colour, ſometimes of another, and ſends them hither to us? For 'tis not to be deny'd, but that a Star of Fire cannot appear in a Shadow black, gray, or violet; but there are ſeen upon Hills, Plains and Seas, ſeveral various Reſemblances of Colours, caus'd by the Reflexion of the Sun, which are the very Tinctures, that Brightneſs mixt with Shadows and Miſts, as if it were with Painters Colours, brings upon them. And as for the Tinctures or Colours of the Sea, *Homer* has indeed in ſome fort endeavour'd to name and expreſs them, when he ſometimes terms the Sea violet-colour'd, or red as Wine; at other times the Waves purple, and again the Sea azure, and the calm white. As for the Diverſities of Tinctures and Colours, appearing upon the Earth, he has, I ſuppoſe, omitted them, becauſe they are in number infinite. Now it is not probable, that the Moon has but one Superficies all plain and even, as the Sea; but rather that of its Nature it principally reſembles the Earth, of which old *Socrates* in *Plato* ſeem'd to mythologize at his Pleaſure, whether it were, that under covert and ænigmatical Speeches he meant it of the Moon, or whether he ſpake of ſome other. For 'tis neither incredible, nor wonderful, if the Moon, having in her ſelf nothing corrupt or muddy, but enjoying a pure and clear Light from Heaven, and being full of Heat, not of a burning and furious Fire, but of ſuch, as is mild and harmleſs, has in her Places, admirably fair and pleaſant, reſplendent Mountains, clear as Fire, purple-colour'd Tinctures or Zones, ſtore of Gold and Silver, not diſpers'd here and there within her Bowels, but flouriſhing in great Abundance on the Superficies of her Plains, or ſpread all over her ſmooth Hills and Mountains.

And if the Sight of all theſe things comes to us thro' a Shadow, ſometimes in one manner, and ſometimes in another by reaſon of the Diverſity and different Change of the ambient Air, the Moon does not therefore loſe the venerable Perſwaſion that is had of her, or

the

the Reputation of Divinity; being eſteem'd by Men an heavenly Earth, or rather, as the Stoicks ſay, a troubled, thick and dreggiſh Fire. For even the Fire it ſelf is honour'd with *Barbarian* Honours among the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*, who thro' fear ſerve and adore ſuch things as are hurtful, hallowing them even above ſuch things as are of themſelves indeed holy and honorable. But the very Name of the Earth is truly dear and venerable to every *Greek*, and there is thro' all *Greece* a Cuſtom receiv'd of adoring and revering it, as much as any other of the Gods. And we are very far from thinking, that the Moon, which we hold to be an heavenly Earth, is a Body without Soul and Spirit, exempt and depriv'd of all, that is to be offer'd to the Gods. For both by Law we yield her Recompences and Thankſgivings, for that we receive of her, and by Nature we adore, what we acknowledge to be of a more excellent Vertue, and a more honourable Power, and therefore we do not think, that we offend, in ſuppoſing the Moon to be Earth.

Now as to the Face, which appears in her, as this Earth on which we are, has in it many great Sinuoſities and Vallies; ſo 'tis probable, that the Moon alſo lies open and is cleft with many deep Caves and Ruptures, in which there is Water, or very obſcure Air, to the Bottom of which the Sun cannot reach or penetrate, but failing there, ſends back a diſſipated Reflection to us here below.

Here *Apollonides*, taking up the Diſcourſe, ſaid, Tell me then, I beſeech you, good Sir, even by the Moon her ſelf, do you think it poſſible, that there ſhould be there Shadows of Caves and Chinks, and that the ſight of them ſhould come even to our Eyes? Or do you not regard; what will come of it? I will tell you what it is, and hearken to me, altho' you are not ignorant of it. The Diameter of the Moon according to that bigneſs which appears to us, when ſhe is in her mean and ordinary Diſtance, is twelve Digits, and every one of theſe black and shady Spots is above half a Digit, that is, above the four and twenti-

eth part of the Diameter. Now if we suppose the Circumference of the Moon to be only thirty thousand *Stadia*, and the Diameter according to that Supposition, to be ten thousand, every one of these shadowy Marks within her will not be less than five hundred *Stadia*. Consider then first, whether there can possibly be in the Moon such great Gaps, and such Inequalities, as may make such a Shadow; and then how is it possible, that being so great, they are not seen by us.

At this I, smiling upon him, said; You have done me a Pleasure, dear, *Apollonides*, in having found out such a Demonstration, by which you will prove, that you and I shall be bigger than those Giants * *Aloades*, not indeed every hour of the Day, but principally Morning and Evening. Do you think, that when the Sun makes our Shadows so long, he he suggests to our Minds this goodly Argument: If that, which is shadowed is great, that which shadows much of necessity be yet excessively greater? I know well, that neither you nor I have ever been in *Lemnos*; yet we have often heard that *Iambick* Verse, so frequent in every ones Mouth.

* *Othus* and *Ephialtes*, so named of *Aloeus*, their supposed Father, on whose Wife *Iphimedia* they were begotten by *Neptune*. 'Tis said of them, that they grew nine Fingers every Month.

Ἄθως κακύψει πλυρὰ Λημνίας βοός:
Mount Athos *shall on either side*
The Cow, in Lemnos *planted, hide.*

For the Shadow of that Mountain falls, as it seems, on the Image of a brazen Heifer, which is in *Lemnos*, extending it self in length over the Sea not less then seven hundred *Stadia*; not that the Mountains, which makes the Shadow, is of that Height as to cause it; but because the distance of the Light renders the Shadow of Bodies manifoldly greater than the Bodies themselves. Consider then here, that, when the Moon is in the Full, and shews us the Form of a Visage most exprelly, by reason of the Profundity of the Shadow, 'tis then, that she is most remote from the

Sun;

Sun; for 'tis the Recoiling of the Light, that makes the Shaddow bigger, and not the Greatneſs of the Inequalities, which are on the *Superficies* of the Moon. And you moreover ſee, that the Brightneſs of the Suns Beams ſuffer not the Tops of the Mountains to be diſcern'd in open day; but on the contrary the deep hollow and ſhadowy Parts, appear from afar. 'Tis not therefore any way abſurd or ſtrange, if we cannot ſo exactly ſee the full Illumination of the Moon, and her Reception of the Sun Beams, but that by the approaching of things, that are obſcure and dark, ſuch, as are clear and ſhining, they are by reaſon of this Diverſity more exquiſitely ſeen.

But this, ſaid I, ſeeems rather to refute and check the Reflection and Reverberation, which is ſaid to rebound from the Moon, becauſe theſe, who are within the reforted Rays, do not only ſee that, which is enlightned, but alſo that, which enlightens. For when, at the Reſulting of Light from Water upon a Wall, the Sight ſhall fall upon the Place, which is thus illuminated by the Reflection, the Eye there beholds three things, to wit, the Ray or Light, that is driven back, the Water, which makes the Reflection, and the Sun himſelf, whoſe Light, falling on the *Superficies* of the Water, is repuls'd and ſent back. This being confeſs'd, as what is evidently ſeen, 'tis requir'd of thoſe, who ſay, that the Earth is enlightned from the Moon by the Reflections of the Suns Rays upon it, that they ſhew us by Night the Sun, appearing upon the *Superfices* of the Moon in the ſame manner, as he may be ſeen by day appearing in the Water, on which he ſhines, when there is the ſaid Reflections of his Beams. But ſince the Sun does not ſo appear, they thence infer, that the Moon receives her Illumination by ſome other Means, and not by Reflections, and if there is no Reflection, the Moon then is not Earth.

What Anſwer then is to be made them, ſaid *Apollonides*? For the Argument of this Objection againſt Reflection is common alſo to us.

It is indeed, anſwer'd I, in ſome ſort common, and in ſome ſort not. But firſt conſider the Compariſon, how perverſly, and againſt the ſtream, they take it. For the Water is here below on the Earth, and the Moon there above in Heaven: ſo that the reflected and reverberated Rays make the form of their Angles quit oppoſite one to the other, the one having their Point upwards towards the *Superficies* of the Moon, and the other downwards towards the Earth. Let them not then require, that every *Idea* or form ſhould be equally a Mirror, nor that from every Diſtance and Remoteneſs there ſhould be a like and ſemblable Reflection; for ſo doing they would repugn notorious and apparent Evidence. And as for thoſe, who hold the Moon to be a Body, not ſmooth, even and ſubtil, as the Water, but ſolid, maſſy and terreſtrial, I cannot conceive, why they ſhould require to ſee the Image of the Sun in her, as in a Glaſs. For neither does Milk it ſelf render ſuch peculiar Images, nor cauſe Reflection of the Sight, by reaſon of the Inequality and Ruggedneſs of its Parts: How then is it poſſible, that the Moon ſhould ſend back the Sight from her *Superficies*, as Mirrors do, that are more poliſht? And if in theſe alſo there is any Scratch, Filth, or Dulneſs on their *Superficies*, whence the reflected Sight is wont to receive a Form, they indeed may well be ſeen, but they yield no Counterlight. He then, who requires, that either the Sun ſhould appear in the Moon or that our Sight ſhould be reverberated and redoubled againſt the Sun, let him alſo require, that the Eye be the Sun, the Sight Light, and Man Heaven. For it is probable, that the Reflection of the Suns Beams, which is made upon the Moon, does by reaſon of their Vehemence and great Brightneſs rebound with a ſtroke upon us. But our Sight being weak and ſlender, what wonder is it, if it neither give ſuch a ſtroake, as may rebound, or, if it rebounds, that it does not maintain its Continuity, but is broken and fails, as not having ſuch abundance of Light, that it ſhould not diſgregate and be diſſipated within thoſe Inequalities

Inequalities and Aſperities. For 'tis not impoſſible, that the Reflection of our Sight upon Water, or other ſorts of Mirrors, being yet ſtrong, powerful, and near its Origin, ſhould from thence return upon the Eye. But tho' there may perhaps from the Moon be ſome Glimmerings, yet they will ſtill be weak and obſcure, and will fail in the way by reaſon of ſo long a Diſtance. For otherwiſe hollow and concave Mirrors ſend back the reverberated and reflected Rays ſtronger than they came, ſo that they frequently burn, and ſet on fire; and thoſe, that are convex and imboſs'd like a Bowl, becauſe they beat them not back on all ſides, render them dark and feeble. You ſee for certain, when two Rainbows appears together in the Heaven, one Cloud comprehending another, that, the Rainbow, which outwardly convirons the other, yields dim Colours, and ſuch, as are not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd and expreſs'd, becauſe the exterior Cloud, being more remote, makes not a ſtrong and forcible Reflection. And what needs there any more to be ſaid, ſeeing that the very Light of the Sun, reverberated and ſent back by the Moon, loſes all its Heat; and of his Brightneſs, there comes to us with much ado but a ſmall Remainder, and that very languiſhing and weak. Is it then poſſible, that our Sight, turning the ſame Courſe, ſhould bring back any Part of the ſolar Image from the Moon? I for my part think, 'tis not. But conſider, I ſaid, your ſelves, that if our Sight were in one and the ſame manner affected and diſpos'd towards the Water, and towards the Moon, the full Moon would of neceſſity repreſent to us the Images of the Earth Trees, Plants, Men and Stars, as is done by the Water, and all other ſorts of Mirrors. And if there is no ſuch Reflection of our Sight, as to bring us back theſe Images, either by reaſon of our ſaid Sights, Weakneſs, or tho' the rugged Inequality of the Moons *Superficies*, let us no longer require, that it ſhould rebound againſt the Sun.

We have then, ſaid I, related, as far as our Memory would carry it away, whatever was there ſaid.

'Tis now time to deſire *Sylla*, or rather to exact of him, that he would make us his Narration, as being on ſuch Condition admitted to hear all this Diſcourſe. If you think good therefore, let us give over walking, and ſitting down on theſe Seats, make him a quiet and ſettled Audience.

Every one approv'd this Motion. And therefore, when we had ſeated our ſelves, *Theon* thus began: I am indeed, O *Lampria*, as deſirous, as any of you can be, to hear, what ſhall be ſaid; but I would gladly firſt underſtand ſomething concerning thoſe, who are ſaid to dwell in the Moon; not, whether there are any Perſons inhabiting it, but whether 'tis poſſible, there ſhould be any; for if 'tis not poſſible for the Moon to be inhabited, 'tis alſo unreaſonable to ſay, that ſhe is Earth; otherwiſe ſhe would have been created in vain, and to no End; not bearing any Fruits, not affording a Place for the Birth or Education of any Men, for which Cauſes and Ends this Earth, wherein we live was made and created to be our Nurſe and true Guardian, producing and diſtinguiſhing the Day from the Night. Now you know, that of this matter many things have been ſaid, as well merrily and in jeſt, as ſeriouſly and in earneſt. For of thoſe, who dwell under the Moon, 'tis ſaid, that ſhe hangs over their Heads, as if they were ſo many *Tantalus*'s; and on the contrary of thoſe, who inhabit her, that being ty'd and bound, like a ſort of *Ixions*, they are with ſo much Violence turn'd and whirl'd about, as if they were perpetually in danger of being flung out. Nor is the Moon indeed mov'd by one only Motion, but is, as they are wont te call her Τριοδῖτις, *Trivia*, or *Three-way'd*; performing her Courſe together according to Length, Breadth and Depth in the Zodiac; the firſt of which Motions *Mathematicians* call a direct Revolution; the ſecond Volutation, or an oblique Winding and Wheeling in and out; and the third (I know not why) an Inequality, altho' they ſee that ſhe has no Motion, uniform, ſetled and certain, in all her Circuits and Reverſions. Wherefore 'tis not greatly to be admir'd,

mir'd, if thro' Violence of her Motion there ſometime fell a Lion from her into *Peloponneſus*, but 'tis rather to be wondred, that we do not daily ſee ten thouſand Falls of Men and Women, and Shocks of other Animals tumbling down thence with their Heels upwards on our Heads; for it 'twould be a Mockery to diſpute about their Habitation there, if they can have there neither Birth nor Exiſtence. For ſeeing the *Egyptians* and the *Troglodytes*, over whoſe Heads the Sun directly ſtands only one Moment of one day in the Solſtice, and then preſently retires, can hardly eſcape being burnt, by reaſon of the Airs exceſſive Drineſs; is it credible, that thoſe, who are in the Moon, can bear every Year twelve Solſtices, the Sun being once a Month juſt, in their Zenith, or exactly over their Head, when the Moon is in Conjunction. As for Winds, Clouds and Showers, without which the Plants can neither come up, nor, when they are come up, be preſerv'd, it cannot be ſo much as Imagin'd there ſhould be any, where the Ambient Air is ſo hot, dry and ſubtil; ſince even here below the Tops of Mountains never feel thoſe hard and bitter Winters, but the Air, being there pure and clear without any Agitation by reaſon of its Lightneſs, avoids all that Thickneſs and Concretion, which is amongſt us; unleſs, by *Jupiter*, we will ſay, that, as *Minerva* Inſtil'd *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* into the Mouth of *Achilles*, when he receiv'd no other Food; ſo the Moon, which both is call'd, and indeed is, *Minerva*, nouriſhes Men, producing for them, and ſending them every day *Ambroſia*, with which as old *Pherecydes* was wont to ſay, the Gods themſelves are fed. For as touching that *Indian* Root, which, as *Magaſthenes* ſays, ſome People in thoſe Parts, who neither eat, nor drink, nor yet have any Mouths, being therefore call'd *Aſtomi*, burn and imoke, living on the Smell of its Perfume; whence ſhould they have any of it there, the Moon not being water'd or refreſh'd with Rain?

When *Theon* had ſpoken theſe things: You have very dextrouſly and gentilely, ſaid I to him, this

this Facetiouſneſs of yours ſmooth'd as it were the Brow, and taken off the Chagrin and Sowrneſs of this Diſcourſe; which encourages and emboldens us to return an Anſwer, ſince, however we may chance to fail, we expect not any ſevere or rigorous chaſtiſement. For, to ſpeak the Truth, they, who are extreamly offended with theſe things, and wholly diſcredit them, not being willing mildly to conſider, what Probability and Poſſibility, there may be in them, are not much leſs in Fault than thoſe, that are too exceſſively perſwaded of them. Firſt then I ſay, 'tis not neceſſary, that the Moon muſt have been made in vain, and to no End or Purpoſe, if there are not Men, who dwell in it; for we ſee, that this very Earth here is not all cultivated, or inhabited; but that only a ſmall Part of it, like ſo many Promontories, or Demy-Illands, riſing out of the Deep, engenders, brings forth, and breeds Plants and Animals; the reſt being thro' exceſſive Cold or Heat wholly defart and barren, or (which is indeed the greateſt Share of it) cover'd and plung'd under the vaſt Ocean. But you, who are always ſo great a Lover and Admirer of *Ariſtarchus*, give no Ear to *Crates*, tho' you read

The Sea, which gave to Gods and Men their Birth,
Covers with Waves the moſt part of the Earth.

And yet thoſe Parts are far from having been made in vain; for the Sea exhales and breathes out mild Vapors, and the Snow, leiſurely melting from the cold and uninhabited Regions, ſends forth, and ſpreads over all our Countreys thoſe gentle Breezes, which qualify the ſcorching Heat of Summer, and in the midſt, as *Plato* ſays, is plac'd the faithful Guardian and Operator of Night and Day. There is then nothing to hinder, but that the Moon may be without living Creatures, and yet give Reflections to the Light, that is diffus'd about her, and afford a Receptacle to the Rays of the Stars, which have their Confluence and Temperature there, for to digeſt the Evaporation, riſing from the Earth, and moderate the over violent and fiery Heat

of the Sun. And attributing much to ancient Fame, and the Opinion, handed down to us by our Anceſtors we will ſay, that ſhe is ſtil'd *Diana*, as being a Virgin and fruitleſs, but otherwiſe greatly ſalutary, helpful, and profitable to the World. Moreover of all that has been ſaid, my Friend *Theon*, there is nothing, which ſhews it impoſſible for the Moon to be inhabited. For her Turning about being gentle, mild and calm, dulciſies and poliſhes the ambient Air, which ſhe in ſo good order diſtributes, and ſpreads about her, that there is no occaſion to fear the falling or Sliping out of thoſe, who live in her, unleſs She her ſelf alſo comes tumbling down. And as to the Diverſity and Multiplicity of her Motion, it proceeds not from any Inequality, Error, or Uncertainty, but the Aſtrologers ſhew in this an admirable Order and Courſe, encloſing her within Circles, which are turn'd by other Circles; ſome ſuppoſing that ſhe her ſelf ſtirs not, others making her always move equally, ſmoothly, and with the ſame Swiftneſs. For 'tis theſe Aſcenſions of divers Circles, with their Turnings and Habitudes, one towards another, and with Reſpect to us, which moſt exactly make thoſe Heights, Depths and Depreſſions, that appear to us in her Motion, and her Digreſſions in Latitude, all joyn'd with the ordinary Revolution, ſhe makes in Longitude. As to the great Heat and continual Inflammation of the Sun, you will ceaſe to fear it, if firſt to the twelve eſtival Conjunctions you oppoſe the full Moons and then to the exceſſes the Continuity of Change which permit them not to laſt long, reducing them to a proper and peculiar Temperature, and taking from them both what is overmuch; for the Middle, or what is between them, 'tis probable, has a Seaſon, moſt like to the Spring. And moreover the Sun ſends his Beams to us thro' a groſs and troubled Air, and caſts on us an Heat, fed by Exhalation; whereas the Air being there ſubtil and tranſparent, diſſipates and diſperſes his Luſtre, which has no Nouriſhment, nor Body on which it may ſettle. Trees and Fruits are her het nouriſh'd by Showers, but elſewhere, as in th

highe

higher Countries with you about ‖ *Thebes* and *Syene*, the Earth drinking in, not aerial, but earth-bred Water, and being aſſiſted with refreſhing Winds and Dew, will not, ſuch is the Vertue and Temperature of the Soil, yield the firſt place for Fertility to the beſt water'd Land in the World. And the ſame ſorts of Trees, which in our Country, having been well winter'd, or having ſuffer'd a long and ſharp Winter, bring forth Abundance of good Fruit, are in *Africa*, and with you in *Ægypt*, ſoon offended with, and very fearful of Cold. And the Provinces of *Gedroſia* and *Troglodytis*, which lye near the *Oceaan* Sea, being, by reaſon of Drought barren and without any Trees, there grow nevertheleſs in the adjacent Sea, Trees of a wonderful Height and Bigneſs, and green even to the very bottom; ſome of which they call Olive-trees, others Laurels, and others the Hairs of *Iſis*. And thoſe Plants, which are nam'd *Anacampſerotes*, being hang'd up after they are pluck'd out of the Ground, they not only live, but, which is more, bud and put forth green Leaves. And of the Seeds that are ſown, ſome, as namely *Centaury*, if they are ſown in a rich and fat Earth and there well drench'd and water'd, degenerate from their natural Quality, and all their Vertue, becauſe they love Drineſs, and thrive in their own proper natural Soil. Others cannot bear ſo much as the leaſt Dew, of which kind are the moſt part of the *Arabian* Plants, that, if they are but once wet, wither, fade and dye. What wonder is it then, if there grow in the Moon Roots, Seeds and Plants, which have no need of Rains or Winter Colds, and ar appropriated to a dry and ſubtil Air, ſuch as is that of Summer? And why may it not be probable, that the Moon ſends forth warm Winds, and that her Shaking and Agitation, as ſhe moves, is accompany'd by comfortable Breezes, fine Dews and gentle Moiſtures, which are every where diſpers'd to furniſh Nutriment for the verdant Plants? Seeing ſhe is not of her Temperature ardent,

‖ He means here the *Ægyptian*, not the *Bœotian*, *Thebes*.

or parch'd with Drought, but rather ſoft, moiſt and ingendring all Humidity. For there comes not from her to us any Effect of Drineſs, but many of a feminine Moiſture and Softneſs, ſuch as are the growing of Plants, the Putrefaction of Fleſh, the Changing and Flatneſs of Wines, the Tenderneſs and Rotting of Wood, and the eaſie Deliveries of Child-bearing Women. But becauſe I am afraid of irritating again and provoking *Pharnaces*, who all this while ſpeaks not a Word, if I ſhould alledge the Flowing and Ebbing of the great Ocean, as they themſelves ſay, with the Increaſings of the Friths and Straits, which ſwell and riſe by the Moon, augmenting the Moiſture; and therefore I will rather turn my ſelf to you, my Friend *Theon*; for you, interpreting this Verſe of the Poet *Alcman*.

Such things, as Dew, Jove's *Daughter and the* Moons
Does nouriſh,——— ——— ———

tell us, that in this Place he calls the Air *Jupiter*, which, being moiſtened by the Moon, is by Nature chang'd into Dew; for ſhe ſeems, my good Friend, to be of a Nature, almoſt wholly contrary to the Sun, not only in that ſhe is wonted to moiſten, diſſolve and ſoften, what he thickens, dries and hardens; but moreover, in that ſhe allays and cools his Heat, when it lights upon her, and is mingled with her.

Thoſe then, who think the Moon to be a fiery and burning Body, are in an Error; and in like manner thoſe, who would have all ſuch things to be neceſſary for the Generation Life, Food and Entertainment of the Animals dwelling there, as are requiſite to thoſe that are here below, conſider not the vaſt diverſity and Inequality there is in Nature, in which there are found greater Varieties and Differences between Animals and Animals, then there are between Animals and other Subjects, that are not animated. Neither would there be in the World any Men without Mouths or whoſe Lips are ſo grown together, that they feed only on Smells, if it were ſo that Men could not live without

without ſolid and ſubſtantial Food. But that Power of Nature which *Ammonus* it himſelf has ſhewn us, and which *Heſiod* has obſcurely ſignifi'd in theſe Words,

Nor how great Vertue is in Aſphodels
And Mallows,

Epimenides has made plain to us in Effect, teaching us, that Nature ſuſtains a living Creature with very little Food, and that, provided it has but the Quantity of an Olive, it ſtands in need of no other Nouriſhment. Now, if any, thoſe ſurely, who dwell within the Moon, ſhould be active, light and eaſie to be nouriſh'd with any thing whatſoever; ſince they affirm, that the Moon her ſelf, as alſo the Sun, which is a fiery Animal, and manifoldly greater than the Earth, is nouriſh'd and maintain'd by the Moiſtures that are upon the Earth, as are alſo all the other Stars, whoſe Number is in a manner infinite; ſuch light and ſlender Animals do they aſſign to the upper Region, and with ſo ſmall Neceſſaries do they think them contented and ſatisfi'd. But we neither ſee theſe things, nor conſider, that a quite different Region, Nature and Temperature is accommodated to thoſe Lunar Men.

As therefore, if we were unable to come near & touch the Sea, but could only ſee it at a diſtance, and had heard that its Water is brackiſh, ſalt and undrinkable, any one, who ſhould tell us, that there are in its Bottom many and great Animals of varioas Forms and Shapes, and that it is full of great and monſtrous Beaſts, making rhe ſame uſe of the Water, as we do of the Air, would be thought only to relate a parcel of ſtrange and uncreditable Stories, newly found out and invented for Delight and Amuſement; in the ſame manner we ſeem to be affected and dispos'd towards the Moon, not believing, that there are any who inhabit it. And I am of Opinion, that they themſelves do much more wonder, when they behold the Earth, which is, as it were, the Dreggs and Mud of the Univerſe, appearing to

them thro' moiſt and foggy Clouds and Miſts, a little Place, low, abject and immoveable thing without any Brightneſs or Light whatever, how this pitiful inconſiderable thing ſhould be able to produce, nouriſh and maintain Animals that have Motion, Reſpiration and Heat. And if peradventure they had ever heard theſe Verſes of *Homer*;

A filthy ſqualid Place, abhorr'd even by
The Gods themſelves: ——— ———

And again,

Hell is as far beneath, as Heav'n above
The Earth: ——— ———

they would certainly think them to have been written of this Place where we live, and that here is Hell and *Tartarus*, and that the Earth equally diſtant from Heaven and Hell, is only the Moon.

I had not well ended my Diſcourſe, when *Sylla* interrupting me, ſaid, Forbear *Lamprias*, and put a ſtop to your Diſcourſe, leſt running, as they ſay, the Veſſel of your Story on ground, you confound and ſpoil all the Play, which has at preſent another Scene and Diſpoſition. I my ſelf therefore ſhall be the Actor, but ſhall, before I enter upon my Part, make known to you the Poet or Author; beginning, if there is nothing to hinder, with that of *Homer*;

Far off within the Sea
Lies th' Iſle Ogygie,

diſtant about five Days ſail weſtward from *Britain*; and before it there are three others, of an equal Diſtance from one another, and alſo from that, bearing North-weſt, where the Sun ſets in Summer. In one of theſe the *Barbarians* feign that *Saturn* is detain'd Priſoner by *Jupiter*, who, as his Son, having the Guard or keeping of thoſe Iſlands and the adjacent Sea, nam'd the *Saturnian*, has his Seat a little below; and that the Continent, or main Land, by which the great Sea is circularly environ'd, is diſtant from *Ogygië* about five hundred *Stadia*, but from the other, not ſo far. Men uſing to row thither

thither in Gallies, the Sea being there low and ebb, and difficult to be paſs'd by great Veſſels, becauſe of the Mud, brought thither by a Multitude of Rivers, which, coming from the main Land, diſcharge themſelves into it and raiſe their great Bars and Shelves, that choak up the River, and render it hardly navigable; whence anciently there aroſe an Opinion of its being frozen. Moreover the Coaſt of this Continent, lying on the Sea, are inhabited by the *Greeks* about a Bay, not much leſs than the *Mæotic* Fens, the Mouth of which lies in a direct Line over againſt that of the *Caſpian* Sea. Theſe name and eſteem themſelves the Inhabitants of the firm Land, calling all us others Iſlanders, as dwelling in a Land, encompaſs'd round about, and waſht by the Sea. And they think, that thoſe, who heretofore came thither, and were left there by him, mixing themſelves with the People of *Saturn*, rais'd up again the *Greek* Nation, which was well near extinguiſh'd, brought under, and ſupplanted by the Language, Laws and Manners of the *Barbarians*, and made it again flouriſh and recover its priſtine Vigor. And therefore in that Place they give the firſt Honor to *Hercules*, and the ſecond to *Saturn*. Now when the Star of *Saturn*, and by us call'd *Phænon*, and by them *Nycturus* comes to the Sign of *Taurus*, as it does once in the Time of thirty years, they, having been a long time preparing what is neceſſary for a ſolemn Sacrifice, and a long Voyage or Navigation, ſend forth thoſe, on whom the Lots falls, to row in that vaſt Sea, and make their Abode for a great while in forreign Countreys. Theſe Men then, bein imbarqu'd and departed, meet with diffent Adventures, ſome in one manner, others in another. Now ſuch as have in ſafety paſs'd the Danger of the Sea, go firſt aſhore in thoſe oppoſite Iſlands, which are inhabited by the *Greeks*, where they ſee, that the Sun is ſcarce hidden one full hour during the Space of thirty Days; and that this is their Night, of which the Darkneſs is but ſmall, as having a Twy-light from the going down of the Sun, not unlike the Dawning of the Day; that have continu'd

there ninety Days, during which they are highly careſs'd and honour'd, as being reputed and term'd holy Men, they are afterwards conducted by the Winds, and tranſported into the Iſle of *Saturn* where there are no other Inhabitants but themſelves, and ſuch as have been ſent thither before them. For tho' 'tis lawful for them, after they have ſerv'd *Saturn* thirty years, to return home to their own Countries and Houſes, yet moſt of them chooſe rather to remain quietly there; ſome, becauſe they are already accuſtom'd to the Place; others, becauſe without any Labour and Trouble, they have abundance of all things, as well for the offering of Sacrifices, and holding Feſtival Solemnities, as to ſupport the ordinary Expences of thoſe, who are perpetually converſant in the Study of Learning and Philoſophy. For they affirm the Nature of the Iſland, and the Mildneſs of the Air, which environs it, to be admirable; and that there have been ſome Perſons, who intending to depart thence have been hindred by the Divinity or *Genius* of the Place, ſhewing himſelf to them, as to his familiar Friends and Acquaintance, not only in Dreams and exterior Signs, but alſo viſibly appearing to them by the Means of familiar Spirits and Dæmons, diſcourſing and converſing with them. For they ſay, that *Saturn* himſelf is perſonally there, lying aſleep in the deep Cave of an hollow Rock, mining like fine Gold, *Jupiter* having prepar'd Sleep inſtead of Fetters and Shackles, to keep him from ſtirring; But there are on the Top of this Rock certain Birds, which fly down and carry him *Ambroſia*; that the whole Iſland is *fill'd with an* admirable Fragracy and Perfume which is ſpread all over it, ariſing from this Cave, as from an odoriferous Fountain; that theſe Dæmons ſerve and miniſter to *Saturn*, having been his Coutiers and neareſt Attendants, when he held the Empire and exercis'd Regal Authority over Men and Gods; and that having the Science of divining future Occurrences, they of themſelves foretel many things; but the greateſt and of the higheſt Importance, when they return from aſſiſting *Saturn*, and reveal his Dreams; for whatever *Jupiter* premeditates,

aturn

Saturn dreams; but his Awakenings are *Titanical* Paſſions or Perturbations of the Soul in him. His Sleep is altogether, and *** the Royal and divine Nature pure and incontaminate in it ſelf.

This Stranger then, having been brought thither, and there ſerving the God in Repoſe, and at his Eaſe, attain'd to as great Skill in Aſtrology, as 'tis poſſible for any one to do, that has made the greateſt Progreſs in Geometry. As for the reſt of Philoſophy, having given himſelf to that, which is call'd *Natural*, he was ſeiz'd with an extraordinary Deſire and Longing to viſit and ſee the great Iſland; for ſo they call the Continent, inhabited by us. After therefore his thirty years were paſs'd, and his Succeſſors arriv'd, having taken leave of all his Relations and Friends, he put to Sea, in other reſpects ſoberly and moderately equipp'd, but having good ſtore of Voyage-Proviſion in Veſſels of Gold. Now one Day would not ſuffice to relate unto you in particular, what adventures befel him, how many Nations he viſited, thro' how many Countreys he paſs'd, how he ſearch'd into Sacred Writings, and was initiated in all holy Confraternities and Religious Societies, as he himſelf recounted it to us, exactly particulariſing every thing. But give ear, I pray you, to what concerns the preſent Diſpute. For he continu'd no ſmall time at *Carthage*, a City, not a little alſo eſteem'd by us, ſince the Deſtruction of the former, where he found certain ſacred Skins of Parchment, which had been ſecretly convey'd thither, when the old Town was ſack'd, and had there long lain hidden under Ground. Now he told me, that of all the Gods which appear to us in Heaven, we ought chiefly to honour the Moon, and earneſtly exhorted me to be diligent in venerating of her, as having the principal Influence and Dominion over our Life.

At theſe things, when I was amaz'd, and entreated him to declare and explain them a little more fully to me: *The* Greeks, ſaid he, *O* Sylla, *deliver many things concerning the Gods, but they are not always in the Right: For firſt, when they tell us, that there is a* Ceres, *and a* Proſerpine,

Proſerpine, *they ſay well; but not ſo well, when they put them both in one and the ſame Place; for one one, to wit,* Ceres, *is on the Earth, and the Lady and Miſtriſs of all earthly things; and the other, to wit,* Proſerpine, *in the Moon, and is by thoſe that inhabit there, call'd* Core *and* Perſephone: Perſephone, *as being a Bringer of Light and Brightneſs; and* Core, *being the Apple or Sight of the Eye, in which the Image of him, who looks into it, is repreſented, as the Brightneſs of the Sun appears in the Moon, is by the* Greek *call'd* Core. *And as to what they ſay concerning the Wandring about of* Ceres *and* Proſerpina, *and their mutual ſeeking of one another, there is in it ſomewhat of Truth, for they long after each other, being ſeparated, and often embrace in Shadow. And that the* Core *is ſometimes in Heaven and Light, and ſometimes in Darkneſs and Night, is not untrue; only there is ſome Error in the Computation of the Time; for we ſee not ſix whole Months, but every ſixth Month, or from ſix Months to ſix Months, caught in the Shadow by the Earth, as by her Mother; and this really happens within five Months, becauſe 'tis impoſſible ſhe ſhould forſake* Pluto, *being his Wife; which* Homer *alſo covertly, but not unelegantly ſignifi'd, when he ſaid,*

Into th' *Elyſian* Fields, Earth, utmoſt Bounds,
The Gods will bring thee. ——

For he has there plac'd the End and Boundary of the Earth where the Shadow ceaſes, and goes no farther. Now into that Place no wicked or impure Perſon can have Acceſs. But good Folks, being after their Deceaſe carri'd thither, lead there indeed an eaſie and quiet, but yet not a bleſſed and divine Life, 'till the ſecond Death. But what that is, O Sylla, *ask me not, for I am of my ſelf going to declare it to you.*

The common Opinion, and which moſt Perſons hold, is, that Man is a compound Subject, & this they have reaſon to believe; but they are miſtaken in thinking him to be compounded of two Parts only; for they imagine, that the Underſtanding is a Part of the Soul; but the Underſtanding as far exceeds the Soul, as the Soul is better and diviner than the Body. Now this Compoſition of the Soul with the Underſtanding

*ſtanding, makes Reaſon; and with the Body, Paſſion; of which this is the Beginning or Principle of Pleaſure and Pain, and that of Vertue and Vice. Of thoſe three Parts conjoyn'd and compaſted together, the Earth has given the Body, the Moon, the Soul and the Sun, the Underſtanding to the Generation of Man, *** as therefore Brightneſs to the Moon. Now of the Deaths we die, the one makes Man two of three, and the other one of two. And the former indeed is in the Region and Juriſdiction of* Ceres, *which is the Reaſon of our Sacrificing to her. The* Athenians *alſo heretofore call'd the Deceas'd* Δημητροιϑ, *or* Cerealians. *As for the other Death, it is in the Moon, or Region of* Proſerpina. *And as with the one the Terreſtrial, ſo with the other the Celeſtial* Mercury *inhabits. This ſuddenly and with Force and violence plucks the Soul from the Body; but* Proſerpina *mildly, and in a long time disjoyns the Underſtanding from the Soul. And for this Reaſon is ſhe call'd* Μονογενὴς, *that is,* Only begotten, *or rather,* Begetting one alone; *for the better Part of Man becomes alone, when it is ſeparated by her. Now both the one and the other happens thus according to Nature. 'Tis ordain'd by Fate, that every Soul, whether with or without Underſtanding, when gone out of the Body, ſhould wander for a time, tho' not all for the ſame, in the Region, lying between the Earth and the Moon. For thoſe that have been unjuſt and diſſolute, ſuffer there the Puniſhments, due to their Offences; but the good and Vertuous are there detain'd 'till they are purifi'd, and have by Expiation purg'd out of them all the Infections, they might have contracted from the Contagion of the Body, which is as it were the Author of all Evil, living in the mildeſt part of the Air, call'd the Meadows of* Pluto, *where they muſt remain for a certain prefix'd and appointed time. And then, as if they were returning from a wandring Pilgrimage, or long Exile, into their Countrey, they have a Taſte of Joy, ſuch, as they principally receive, who are initiated in ſacred Myſteries, mixt with Trouble, Admiration and each ones proper and peculiar Hope. For it drives and chaſes out many Souls, which already long after the Moon. Some take Pleaſure to be ſtill below, and look yet again as it were downwards towards the bottom; but thoſe, that are got on high, are there moſt ſecurely ſeated.*

First, They are, as Victors, crown'd with Garlands, call'd the Wings of Conſtancy, becauſe in their Lives they reſtrain'd the unreaſonable and paſſible part of their Soul, rendring it ſubject and obedient to the Curb of Reaſon. Secondly, They reſemble in Sight the Rays of the Sun. Thirdly, The Soul, which is thus raiſ'd on high, is there confirm'd and fortify'd by the Air, which is about the Moon, where it gathers Strength and Solidity, as Iron and Steel do by their being temper'd and plung'd in Water. For that, which was hitherto rare and looſe, is compacted and made firm, and becomes bright and tranſparent; ſo that 'tis nouriſh'd with the leaſt Exhalation in the World. And this is what Heraclitus *meant, when he ſaid, that the Souls in* Pluto's *Region have their Smell exceeding quick.*

Now they firſt ſee the Moons Greatneſs, Beauty and Nature, which is not ſimple nor unmixt, but a Compoſition as it were of Earth and Star. For as the Earth, mixt with Wind and Miiſture, becomes ſoft; and as the Blood, temper'd with the Fleſh, gives it Senſe, ſo they ſay, that the Moon being mingled with an Ætherial Quinteſſence, even to the very bottom, is animated, becomes fruitful and generative, and is equally counterpois'd with Ponderoſity and Lightneſs. For even the World it ſelf, being compos'd of ſome things, naturally moving upwards, and others, by Nature tending downwards, is exempt from all local Motion or Change of Place. Theſe things alſo Xenocrates *ſeems by a certain divine Reaſoning to have underſtood, having taken his firſt Light from* Plato. *For* Plato *it was, who firſt affirm'd, that every Star is compounded of Fire and Earth, by the means of certain intermediate Natures, given in Proportion; for aſmuch as nothing can be an Object of human Senſe, which has not in ſome Proportion a mixture of Earth and Light. Now* Xenocrates *ſays, that the Stars and the Sun are compos'd of Fire and the firſt or primitive Solid; the Moon of the ſecond Solid, and its own peculiar Air; and the Earth, of Water, Fire and the third Solid. For neither is the Solid alone by it ſelf, nor the Rare alone by it ſelf, capable of ſuſceptible of a Soul. And let thus much ſuffice for the Subſtance of the Moon.*

Now as to her Breadth and Magnitude, 'tis not ſuch as the Geometricians deliver, but manifoldly greater And ſhe ſeldom

ſeldom meaſures the Shadow of the Earth by her Greatneſs, not becauſe it is ſmall, but becauſe it adds moſt fervent Motion, that ſhe may quickly paſs the ſhady Place, carrying with her the Souls of the Bleſſed, which make haſte and cry. For when they are in the Shadow, they can no longer hear the Harmony of the Heavenly Bodies. And withal the Souls of the Damn'd are from below preſented to them, lamenting and wailing thro' this Shadow. Wherefore alſo in Eclipſes, many are wont to ring Veſſels of Braſs, and to make a noiſe and Clattering about theſe Souls. Moreover, that which is call'd the Face of the Moon, affrights them, when they draw near it, ſeeming to them a dreadful and terrible Sight, whereas indeed it is not ſo. But as our Earth has deep and great Bayes, one here running between Hercules's *Pillars into the Land to us, and others without, as the* Caſpian, *and thoſe about the* Red Sea; *ſo in the Moon alſo there are Hollows and great Depths. Now of theſe the greateſt they call the Gulf of* Hecate, *where the Souls periſh, or are puniſh'd according to the Evils they did or ſuffer'd whilſt they were here. The two others are little Straits, thro' which the Soul muſt go ſometimes to that part of the Moon, which is towards Heaven, and ſometimes to that, which is towards Earth Now that part of the Moon, which is towards Heaven, is call'd the* Elyſian *Fields; and that which is towards Earth, the Fields of* Proſperina, *not her that is oppoſite to the Earth. Now the* Dæmons *do not always ſtay in the Moon, but ſometimes deſcend down here below to have the Care and Superintendency of Oracles: They are aſſiſtant alſo, and joyn in celebrating ſublimeſt Ceremonies, having their Eye upon Miſdeeds, which they puniſh, and preſerving the Good as well in Perils of War, as of the Sea. And if in the the Performance of this Charge they commit any Fault, either thro' Anger, Envy, or any unjuſt Grace and Favor, they ſmart for it; for they are again thruſt down to the Earth, and ty'd to Humen Bodies. Now thoſe, who were about* Saturn, *ſaid, that themſelves were ſome of the better of theſe* Dæmons, *as were formerly thoſe, that where heretofore in* Crete, *call'd* Dactyli Idæi, *the* Corybantes *in* Phrygia, *and the* Trophoniades *in* Lebadia, *a City of* Bæotia, *and infinite others in ſeveral Places of the Habitable Earth, whoſe Names,*

Temples.

Temples and Honors continue to this Day; but the Powers of ſome fail, being by a moſt happy Change tranſlated to another Place, which Tranſlations ſome obtain ſooner, others later, when the Underſtanding comes to be ſeparated from the Soul; which Separation is made by the Love and Deſire to enjoy the Image of the Sun, in which, and by which ſhines that divine, deſirable and happy Beauty, which every other Nature differently longs after, and ſeeks one after one manner, another after another. For the Moon her ſelf continually turns thro' the Deſire ſhe has to be joy'd with him. That the Nature of the Soul remains in the Moon, retaining only ſome Prints and Dreams of Life: And of this think it to have been well and truly ſaid:

The Soul, like to a Dream, flies quick away;

which it does not immediately, as ſoon as it is ſeparated from the Body; but afterwards, when it is alone, and divided from the Underſtanding. And of all that Homer *ever writ, there is not any one Paſſage more divine than that, in which ſpeaking of thoſe who are departed this Life, he ſays,*

Next theſe, I ſaw *Alcides* Image move;
Himſelf is with th' Immortal Gods above.

For every one of us is neither Courage, nor Fear, nor Deſire, no more than Fleſh or Humors; but the Part, by which we think and underſtand: And the Soul, being moulded and form'd by the Underſtanding, and it ſelf moulding and forming the Body, by embracing it on every ſide, receives from it an Impreſſion and Form; ſo that altho' it be ſeparated both from the Underſtanding and the Body, it nevertheleſs ſo retains ſtill its Figure and Semblance for a long time, that it may with good right be call'd its Image.

And of theſe Souls, as I have already ſaid, the Moon is the Element, becauſe Souls reſolve into her, as the Bodies of the Deceaſed do into Earth. Thoſe indeed, who have been vertuous and honeſt, living a quiet and philoſophical Life, without embroiling themſelves in troubleſome Affairs, are quickly reſolv'd, becauſe being left by the Underſtanding, and no longer uſing corporeal Paſſions, they incontinently vaniſh away; but the Souls of the Ambitious, and ſuch as have been buſi-

buſi'd in Negotiations of the Amorous, and who have been addicted to Corporeal Pleaſures, as alſo of the Angry and Revengeful, calling to mind the things they did in their Lives, as Dreams in their Sleep, walk wandring about here and there, like that of Endymion; *becauſe their Inconſtancy, and their being over ſubject to Paſſions, tranſports them and draws them out of the Moon to another Generation, not letting them reſt, but alluring them, and calling them away. For there is nothing ſmall, ſtaid, conſtant, and accordant, after that being forſaken by the Underſtanding, they come to be ſeiz'd by corporeal Paſſions. And of ſuch Souls, * deſtitute of all Reaſon and ſuffering themſelves to be carri'd away by the proud Violence of all Paſſions, came and were bred afterwards the* Tityi, *and* Typhons, *and particularly that* Typhon, *who, having by Force and Violence ſeiz'd the City of* Delphi, *overturn'd the Sanctuary of the Oracle there. Nevertheleſs, after a long Tract of Time, the Moon receives thoſe Souls, and recompoſes them; and the Sun inſpiring again, and ſowing Underſtanding in their vital Faculty, makes them new Souls; and the Earth a third time gives them a Body. For ſhe gives nothing (after Death) of all that ſhe takes to Generation: And the Sun takes nothing, but reſembles and receives again the Underſtanding which he gave. But the Moon gives and receives, joyns and disjoyns, unites and ſeparates, according to divers Faculties and Powers; of which the one is nam'd* Ilithyia *or* Lucina, *to wit, that which joyns, and the other* Artemis *or* Diana, *to wit, that which ſeparates and divides. And of the Three fatal Goddeſſes, or* Parcæ, *ſhe which is call'd* Atropos, *is plac'd in the Sun, and gives the Principle of Generation; and* Clotho, *being lodg'd in the Moon, is ſhe who joyns, mingles and unites; and the laſt, nam'd* Lacheſis, *is on the Earth, where ſhe adds her helping Hand, and with her does Fortune very much participate. For that which is without a Soul, is weak in it ſelf, and liable to be affected by others; the Underſtanding is Sovereign over all the reſt, and cannot be made to ſuffer by any. Now the Soul is a certain middle thing, mixt of them both; as the Moon was by God made and created*

* Inſtead of ἐρημοὶ I read ἐρήμων.

ted a Compoſition and Mixture of things high and low, having the ſame Proportion to the Son, as the Earth has to her.

This, ſaid *Sylla*, is what I underſtood from this Gueſt of mine, who was a Stranger, and a Traveller; and this, he ſaid, he learnt from the *Dæmons*, who ſerv'd and miniſtred to *Saturn*. And you, O *Lamprias*, may take my Relation in ſuch part as you pleaſe.

Of Fate.

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by* A. G. *Gent.*

I Will endeavour, my dearêſt *Piſo*, to ſend you my Opinion concerning *Fate*, written with all the clearneſs and compendiouſneſs I am capable of; ſince you, who are not ignorant how cautious I am of writing, have thought fit to make it the Subject of your Requeſt. You are firſt then to know, that this word (*Fate*) is ſpoken, taken and underſtood, two manner of ways; the one, as it is in an Action; the other, as it is a Subſtance. Firſt therefore, as 'tis an Action, *Plato* has under a Type deſcrib'd it, ſaying thus in his Dialogue entituled *Pharus*: *As this is a Sanction of* Adraſtea, *or an inevitable Ordinance, that whatever Soul being an Attendant on God*: And in his Treatiſe, call'd *Timæus*, *The Laws, which God in the Nature of the Univerſe has eſtabliſh'd for immortal Souls.* And in his Book of a *Common-weal*, he ſays, *That Fate is the Speech of the Virgin* Lacheſis, *who is the Daughter to Neceſſity.* By which Sentences he not Tragically, but Theologically, ſhews us, what his Sentiments are in this matter. Now, if any one, perhaps taking again the fore-cited Paſſages, would have them expreſs'd in more familiar Terms, the Deſcription in *Phædrus* may be thus explain'd: *That* Fate *is a divine Sentence, intranſgreſſible through a Cauſe which cannot be diveſted or hindred.* And according to what he has ſaid in his *Timæus*, *'Tis a Law enſuing on the Nature of the Univerſe, according to which all things that are done, are tranſacted.* For this does *Lacheſis* effect, who

who is indeed the Daughter of Neceſſity, as we have both already related, and ſhall yet better underſtand by that, which will be ſaid in the Progreſs of our Diſcourſe. Thus you ſee, what *Fate* is, when 'tis taken for an Action; but, as it is a ſubſtance, it ſeems to be the univerſal Soul of the World, and admits of a threefold Diſtribution; the firſt Deſtiny being that which errs not; the ſecond, that which is thought to err; and the third that which being under the Heaven, is converſant about the Earth. Of theſe the higheſt is call'd *Clotho*, the next *Atropos*, and the loweſt *Lacheſis*, who, receiving the cæleſtial Influences and Efficacies of her Siſters, tranſmits and faſtens them to the terreſtrial things, which are under her Government. Thus have we declar'd, what is to be ſaid of *Fate*, taken as a Subſtance, what it is, what are its Parts, after what manner it is, how it is ordain'd, and how it ſtands, both in reſpect to it ſelf, and to us; but as to the Particularities of theſe things, there is another Fable in his *Common-weal*, by which they are in ſome meaſure covertly inſinuated, and we our ſelves have in the beſt manner we can, endeavour'd to explain them to you.

But we now once again turn our Diſcourſe to *Fate*, as it is an Action: For concerning this it is, that there are ſo many Natural, Moral and Logical Queſtions. Having therefore already in ſome ſort ſufficiently defin'd what it is, we are now in the next place to ſay ſomething of its Quality, although it may to many ſeem abſurd. I ſay then, that *Fate*, tho' comprehending as it were in a Circle the Infinity of all thoſe things, which are, and have been from infinite times, and ſhall be to infinite Ages, is not it ſelf infinite, but determinate and finite; for neither Law, Reaſon, nor any other divine thing can be infinite. And this you will the better underſtand, if you conſider the Total Revolution, and the univerſal Time, when the ſwiftneſs of the eight Periods, that is, of the eight Spheres, having, as *Timæus* ſays, finiſh'd their Courſe, return to one and the ſame Point, being meaſur'd by the Circle of *The ſame*, which

goes always after one manner. For in this Reaſon, which is finite and determinate, ſhall all things, which as well in Heaven as in Earth conſiſt by Neceſſity from above, be reduced to the ſame ſituation, and reſtor'd again to their firſt Beginning. Wherefore the only Habitude of Heaven, ordain'd in all things, as well in regard of it ſelf, as of the Earth, and all terreſtial matters, ſhall again, after long Revolutions, one day return; and thoſe things, that in order follow after, and being link'd together in a Continuity, are maintain'd in their Courſe, ſhall conſequently alſo every one of them deliver what it brings by Neceſſity. Now for the better clearing of this matter, let us ſuppoſe, that all whatever is in us, or about us, happens and is wrought by the Courſe of the Heavens and heavenly Influences, as being entirely the efficient Cauſe both of my writing what I now write, and of your doing alſo what you at preſent do, and in the ſame manner as you do it. Hereafter then, when the ſame Cauſe ſhall return, we ſhall do the ſame things we now do, and in the ſame manner, and ſhall again become the ſame Men; and ſo it will be with all others. And that which follows after, ſhall alſo happen by the following Cauſe and in in brief, all things that ſhall happen in every one of theſe univerſal Revolutions, ſhall again become the ſame. By this it appears, as we have already ſaid before, that *Fate*, being in ſome ſort infinite, is nevertheleſs determinate and finite; and it may be alſo in ſome ſort ſeen and comprehended, as we have farther ſaid, that it is as it were a Circle; for as a Motion of a Circle is a Circle, and the Time that meaſures it, is alſo a Circle; ſo the Reaſons of things which are done and happen in a Circle, may be juſtly eſteem'd and call'd a Circle.

This therefore, tho' there ſhould be nothing elſe, almoſt ſhews us, what ſort of thing *Fate* is, but not particularly, or in very reſpect. What kind of thing then is it in its own form? It is, as far as one can compare it, like to the Civil or Politic Law. For firſt it commands the moſt part of things, if not all,

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at leaſt *by Suppoſition*; and then it comprizes, as far as is poſſible for it, all things that belong to the Public in general; and the better to make you underſtand both the one and the other, we muſt ſpecify them by an Example. The Civil Law ſpeaks and ordains in general of a valiant Man, and alſo of a Deſerter and a Coward; and in the ſame manner of others; now this is not to make the Law ſpeak of this or that Man in particular, but principally to propoſe ſuch things, as are univerſal or general, and conſequently ſuch as fall under them. For we may very well ſay, that 'tis legal to reward this Man for having demean'd himſelf valiantly, and to puniſh that Man for flying from his Colours; becauſe the Law has virtually, tho' not in expreſs terms, and particularly, yet in ſuch general ones, as they are comprehended under, ſo determin'd of them. As the Law, if I may ſo ſpeak, of Phyſicians and Maſters of corporal Exerciſes potentially comprehends particular and ſpecial things within the general; ſo the Law of Nature, determining firſt and principally general Matters, ſecondarily and conſequently determins ſuch as are particular. Thus, general things being decreed by *Fate*, particular and individual things may alſo in ſome ſort be ſaid to be ſo, becauſe they are ſo by Conſequence with the general. But perhaps ſome one of thoſe, who more accurately examin, and more ſubtily ſearch into theſe things, may ſay on the contrary, that particular and individual things precede the Compoſition of general things, and that the general is gather'd for the particular; now that, for which another thing is, alwayes goes before that, which is for it. Nevertheleſs this is not the proper Place to treat of this Difficulty; but 'tis to be remitted to another. However, that *Fate* comprehends not all things clearly and expreſly, but only ſuch, as are univerſal and general, let it paſs for reſolv'd on at preſent, as well for what we have already ſaid a little before, as for what we ſhall ſay hereafter. For that, which is finite and determinate, agreeing properly with divine Providence, is ſeen more in univerſal and general things, than in

particular; ſuch therefore is the Divine Law, and alſo the Civil; but Infinity conſiſts in Particulars and Individuals.

After this we are to declare, what this Term, *By Suppoſition*, means; for 'tis to be thought, that *Fate* is alſo ſome ſuch thing. That then is ſaid to be *by Suppoſition*, which is not ſet down of it ſelf, or abſolutely, but as truly ſuppos'd and joyn'd to another; which ſignifies a Suit and Conſequence. *And this is a Sanction of* Adraſtea, *or an inevitable Ordinance, that whatever Soul, being an Attendant on God, ſhall ſee any thing of Truth, it ſhall, 'till another Revolution, be exempt from Puniſhment; and if it can always do the ſame, it ſhall never ſuffer any Damage.* Thus you ſee, what is meant by this Expreſſion, *By Suppoſition*, and alſo univerſally. Now that *Fate* is ſome ſuch thing, is clearly manifeſt, as well from its Subſtance, as from it's Name. For it is call'd Εἱμαρμένη, as being εἰρομένη, that is, *dependant and link'd*; and it is a Sanction or Law, becauſe things are therein ordain'd and diſpos'd conſequentially, as is uſual in Civil Government.

We ought in the next place to conſider and treat of mutual Relation and Affection; that is, what Reference and Reſpect *Fate* has to *Divine Providence*, what to *Fortune*, what alſo to *that, which is in our Power*, what to *Contingent*, and other ſuch like things; and furthermore we are to determine, how far, and in what it is true or Falſe, that *All things happen and are done by, or according to*, Fate: For, if the Meaning is, that all things are comprehended and contain'd in *Fate*, it muſt be granted, that this Propoſition is true; and if any would farther have it ſo underſtood, that all things, which are done amongſt Men, on Earth, and in Heaven are plac'd in *Fate*, let this alſo paſs as granted for the preſent; but if, as the Expreſſion ſeems rather to imply, the *Being done by, or according to* Fate, ſignifies not all things, but that, which is a Conſequent, and dependent on it, then it muſt not be ſaid or granted, that *all things happen and are done by, and according to* Fate; tho all things are ſo according to *Fate*, as that it

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compriz'd in it. For all things, that the Law comprehends, and of which it ſpeaks, are not legal, or according to Law; for it comprehends Treaſon, it treats of the cowardly Running away from ones Colours in time of Battle, of Adultery, and many other ſuch like things, of which it cannot be ſaid, that any one of them is lawful. Neither indeed can I affirm of the performing a valorous Act in War, the killing of a Tyrant, or the doing any other vertuous deed, that it is legal; becauſe that only is proper to be call'd legal, which is commanded by the Law. Now if the Law commands theſe things, how can they avoid being Rebels againſt the Law, and Tranſgreſſors of it, who neither perform valiant Feats of Arms, kill Tyrants, nor do any other ſuch remarkable Acts of Vertue? And if they are Tranſgreſſors of the Law, why is it not juſt, they ſhould be puniſh'd? But if this is not reaſonable, it muſt then be alſo confeſs'd, but theſe things are not legal, or according to Law; but that legal and according to Law, is only that, which is particularly preſcrib'd, and expreſly commanded by the Law, in any Action whatſoever. In like manner thoſe things only are fatal, and according to *Fate*, which are the Conſequences of Cauſes preceding in the divine Diſpoſition. So that *Fate* indeed comprehends all things, which are done; yet many of thoſe things, that are comprehended in it, and almoſt all, that precede, ſhould not, to ſpeak properly, be pronounc'd to be fatal, or according to *Fate*.

Theſe things being ſo, we are next in order to ſhew, how *that, which is in us*, to wit, *Free-will*, *Fortune*, *Poſſible*, *Contingent*, and other like things, which are plac'd among the antecedent Cauſes, can conſiſt with *Fate*, and *Fate* with them; for *Fate*, as it ſeems, comprehends all things, and yet all theſe things do not happen by Neceſſity, but every one of them according to the Principle of its Nature. Now the Nature of the *Poſſible* is to preſubſiſt, as the *Genius*, and to go before the *Contingent*; and the *Contingent*, as the Matter and Subject, is to be preſuppos'd to *that which is in us*; and *that, which is in us*, or our *Free-will*, ought, as a Maſter

to make uſe of the *Contingent*; and *Fortune* intercurs between *that, which is in us*, or our *Free-will*, thro' the Property of the *Contingent*, which is to encline to either Part. Now you will more eaſily apprehend, what has been ſaid, if you ſhall conſider, that every thing, which is *generated*, and the *Generation* it ſelf, is not done without a *generative Faculty* or *Power*, and the *Power* is not without a *Subſtance*; as for example, neither the *Generation* of Man, nor that which is *generated*, is without a *Power*; but this *Power* is about Man, and Man himſelf is the *Subſtance*. Now the *Power* or *Faculty* is between the *Subſtance*, which is the *Powerful*, and the *Generation* or the thing *Generated*, which are both *Poſſibles*. There being then theſe three things, the *Power*, the *Powerful*, and the *Poſſible*; before the *Power* can exiſt, the *Powerful* muſt of neceſſity be preſuppos'd, as its Subject, and the *Power* muſt alſo neceſſarily ſubſiſt before the *Poſſible*. By this Deduction then may in ſome meaſure be underſtood and declar'd, what is meant by *Poſſible*, which may be thus groſsly defin'd: *Poſſible* is that which *Power* is able to produce; or yet more exactly, if to this ſame there be added, Provided there be nothing from without to hinder or obſtruct it. Now of *Poſſible* things there are ſome, which can never be hindred, as are thoſe in Heaven, to wit, the Riſing and Setting of the Stars, and the like th theſe; but others may indeed be empeach'd, as are the moſt part of human things; and many alſo of thoſe, which are done in the Air. The firſt, as being done by Neceſſity, are call'd *Neceſſary*; the others, which may fall one way or other, are call'd *Contingent*; and they may both thus be deſcrib'd. The Neceſſary Poſſible is that, whoſe contrary is *Impoſſible*; and the *Contingent Poſſible* is that whoſe contrary is alſo *Poſſible*. For that the Sun ſhould ſet, is a thing both *Neceſſary* and *Poſſible*, for as much as 'tis contrary to this, that the Sun ſhould not ſet, which is *Impoſſible*; but that, when the Sun is ſet, there ſhould be Rain, or not Rain, both the one and the other, is *Poſſible* and *Contingent*. And then again of things contingent, ſome happen oftener, others rarely and not ſo often;

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others fall out equally or indifferently, as well the one way as the other, even as it happens. Now 'tis manifeſt, that thoſe are contrary to one another, to wit, thoſe which fall out oftner, to thoſe, which happen but ſeldom, and they are both for the moſt part in Natural things; but that which happens equally, as much one way as another *is in us*. For that under the Dog it ſhould be either hot or cold, the one oftner, the other ſeldomer, are both things Subject to Nature; but to walk, and not to walk, and in all ſuch things, of which both the one and the other are ſubmitted to the *Free will* of Man, are ſaid *to be in us*, & our Election, but rather more generally to be in us. For there are two ſorts of this *Being in us*: the one, which proceeds from ſome ſudden Paſſion and Motion of the Mind, as from Anger, or Pleaſure; the other from the Diſcourſe and Judgment of Reaſon which may properly be ſaid to be in our Election. And ſome Reaſon there is, that this *Poſſible* and *Contingent*, which is ſaid to *be in us*, and according to our *Free will*, ſhould not be call'd in other reſpects the ſame; for in reſpect of the Future 'tis ſtilld *Poſſible* and *Contingent*; and in reſpect of the Preſent 'tis nam'd *In us*, and in our *Free will*. So that theſe things may thus be defin'd: the *Contingent* is that, which is both it ſelf, and its contrary *Poſſible*; and *That, which is in us*; is either part of the *Contingent*, to wit, that which is preſently in doing according to our Will. Thus have we in a manner declar'd that the *Poſſible* in the Order of Nature precedes the *Contingent*, and that the *Contingent* ſubſiſts before *That, which is in us*; as alſo what each of them is, whence they are ſo nam'd ann what are the Qualities, adjoyn'd or appertaining to them.

It now remains, that we treat of *Fortune* and *Caſual Adventure*, and whatever elſe is to be conſidered with them. 'tis therefore certain, that Fortune is a Cauſe: Now of Cauſes there are ſome, which are Cauſes of themſelves and by themſelves, and others by Accident. Thus for Example, the proper Cauſe by it ſelf of an Houſe or of a Ship, is the Art of the Maſon, the Carpenter, or the Shipwright; but by Accident Muſic,

Geometry, and whatever elſe may happen to be join'd with the Art of building Houſes or Ships, in reſpect either of the Body, the Soul, or any exterior thing. Whence it appears that the Cauſe by it ſelf muſt needs be determinate, certain, and one; but the Cauſes by Accident are never one and the ſame, but infinite and undetermin'd: for many, nay infinite Accidents, wholly different one from the other, may be in one and the ſame Subject. This Cauſe therefore by Accident, when it is found in a thing, that is done for ſome End, and that is in our *Free-will* and Election, is then call'd *Fortune*: as is the finding a Treaſure, while one is digging a Ditch, or making an Hole to plant a Tree; or the doing or ſuffering ſome extraordinary thing, whilſt one is flying, following, or otherwiſe walking, or only turning about, provided it be not for the ſake of that which happens, but for ſome other Intention. Hence it is, that ſome of the Ancients have declar'd *Fortune* to be a Cauſe unknown, and that cannot be foreſeen by the Diſcourſe of human Reaſon. But *according* to the *Platonics*, who have approach'd yet nearer to the true Reaſon of it, 'tis thus defin'd: *Fortune* is a Cauſe by Accident in thoſe things, which are done for ſome End, and which are of our Election: and afterwards they add, that 'tis unforeſeen and unknown to the Diſcourſe of human Reaſon: although that, which is rare and ſtrange, appears alſo by the ſame means to be in this kind of Cauſe by Accident. But what this is, if 'tis not ſufficiently evidenc'd by the Oppoſitions and Diſputations made againſt it, will at leaſt moſt clearly be ſeen by what is written in *Plato*'s *Phædo*, where you will find theſe words: P. H. *Have you not heard, how, and in what manner the Judgment paſs'd?* E. H. *Yes indeed: for there came one, and told us of it: At which we wondred very much, that, the Judgment having been given long before, he ey'd a great while after. And what, Oh* Phædo, *might be the Cauſe of it?* P. H. *It was a Fortune which happened to him, Oh* Echecrates: *for it chanc'd that the Day before the Judgment the Prow of the Galley, which the* Athenians *ſend ev'ry year to th' Iſle of* Delos, *was crown'd* In which Diſcourſe it is to be obſerv'd, that the Expreſſion *Which happen'd to him*, is not ſimply to be under- ſtood

ſtood by *Which was done*, or *Which came to paſs*, but much rather by *which befel* thro' the Concurrence of many Cauſes together, one being done againſt another. For the Prieſt crown'd the Ship, and adorn'd it with Garlands for another End, and Intention, and not for the ſake of *Socrates*; and the Judges alſo had for ſome other Cauſe condemn'd him. But the Event and Accident was very ſtrange, and of ſuch a Nature, that it might very well ſeem to have been effected by the Providence either of ſome human Creature, or rather indeed of ſome Superior Powers. And ſo much may ſuffice as to the Definition of *Fortune*, by which we have ſhewn, that it muſt of neceſſity ſubſiſt with ſome one of thoſe Contingent things, which are meant for ſome End; whence alſo it has its * Name; and and we have further taught, that there muſt be firſt ſome Subject of ſuch things, as are in Us and our *Free will*.

* Being call'd Τύχη ἀπὸ τῦ τυχεῖν.

But *Chance*, or *Caſual Adventure*, is of a larger *Extent* than *Fortune*, wich it comprehends; and alſo ſeveral other things, which may of their own Nature happen ſometimes one way, ſometimes another. And thus, as it appears by the Derivation of its Nature, which is in Greek Αὐτόματον *Chance* is that which happens inſtead of another, when that which is ordinary happens not, but another in its Place, ſuch as Cold in the Dog-days ſeems to be; for it is ſometimes then cold, and not in vain nor** Once for all, *as that which is in us*, and arbitrary, is a part of *Contingent*, ſo *Fortune* is a part of *Chance* or *caſual Adventure*, and both the two Events are conjoyn'd and dependent on the one and the other, to wit, *Chance* on *Contingent*, and *Fortune* on *That, which is in us*, and arbitrary; and yet not on all, but on what is in our Election, as we have already ſaid. Wherefore *Chance* is common to things inanimate, as well as to thoſe which are animated; whereas *Fortune* is proper to Man only, who has his Actions voluntary. And an Argument of this is, that to be fortunate, and to be happy, are thought to be one and the ſame thing: Now

Happineſs

Happineſs is a certain Well-doing, and Well-doing is proper only to Man, and to him perfect. Theſe then are the things which are compris'd in *Fate*; to wit, *Contingent*, *Poſſible*, *Election*; *That*, *which is in us*, *Fortune*, *Chance*, and their Adjuncts, as are the things ſignify'd by theſe words *Perhaps* and *Peradventure*. All which indeed are contain'd in *Fate*, yet none of them is *fatal*.

It now remains, that we diſcourſe of *Divine Providence*, and ſhew how it comprehends even *Fate* it ſelf The ſupreme therefore and firſt *Providence* is the Underſtanding, or, if you had rather, the Will of the firſt and ſovereign God, doing good to every thing that is in the World, by which all divine things have univerſally and throughout been moſt excellently and moſt wiſely ordain'd and diſpos'd. The ſecond *Providence* is that of the ſecond Gods, who go thro' the Heaven, by which temporal and mortal things are orderly and regularly generated, and which pertains to the Continuation and Preſervation of every kind. The third may probably be call'd the *Providence* and Procuration of the *Dæmons*, which, being plac'd on the Earth, are the Guardians and Overſeers of human Actions This threefold *Providence* therefore being ſeen, of which the firſt and ſupreme is chiefly and principally ſo nam'd, we ſhall not be afraid to ſay, altho' we may in this ſeem to contradict the Sentiments of ſome Philoſophers, that all things are done by *Fate* and by *Providence*, but not alſo by Nature. But ſome are done according to *Providence*, and that different, theſe according to one thoſe according to another, and ſome according to *Fate*; and that *Fate* is altogether according to *Providence*; *Providence* in no wiſe according to *Fate*. But let this Diſcourſe be underſtood of the firſt and Supream *Providence*. Now that, which is done according to another, whatever it is, is always poſterior to that, according to which it is done: As that, which is according to the Law, is after the Law, and that which is according to Nature, after Nature, ſo that, which is according to *Fate*, is after *Fate*. and muſt

conſequently be more new and modern. Wherefore ſupream Providence is the moſt ancient of all things, except him whoſe Will or Underſtanding it is, to wit, the Sovereign Author, Maker and Father of all things. *Let us therefore*, ſays *Timæus*, *diſcourſe for what cauſe the Creator made and fram'd this Machine of the Univerſe. He was good, and in him that is good, there can never be imprinted or ingendred any Envy againſt any thing. Being therefore wholly free from this, he deſir'd that all things ſhould, as far as it is poſſible, reſemble himſelf. He therefore, who admits this to have been chiefly the principal and proper Original of the Generation and Creation of the World, as it has been deliver'd to us by wiſe Men, receives that which is moſt right. For God, who deſir'd that all things ſhould be good, and nothing, as far as poſſibly might be, evil, taking thus all that was viſible, reſtleſs as it was, and moving raſhly and confuſedly, reduc'd it from Diſorder to Order, eſteeming the one to be altogether better than the other. For it neither was nor is convenient for him, who is in all perfection good, to make any thing that ſhould not be very excellent and beautiful.* This therefore, and all that * follows, even to his * For ἐχόμενα I Diſputation concerning human Souls, read ἐπίμενα. is to be underſtood of the firſt *Providence*, which in the beginning conſtituted all things. Afterwards he ſpeaks thus: *Having fram'd the Univerſe, he ordain'd Souls equal in number to the Stars, and diſtributed to each of them one, and having ſet them, as it were, in a Chariot, ſhew'd the Nature of the Univerſe, and appointed them the Laws of* Fate. Who then will not believe, that by theſe Words he expreſly and manifeſtly declares *Fate* to be, as it were, a Foundation and political Conſtitution of Laws, fitted for the Souls of Men. Of which he alſo afterwards renders the Cauſe.

As for the ſecond *Providence*, he thus in a manner ſignifies it, ſaying, *Having preſcrib'd them all theſe Laws, to the end, that if there ſhould afterwards happen any fault, he might be exempt from being the Cauſe of any of their Malice, he diſpers'd ſome of them upon the Earth, ſome into*

to the Moon, and ſome into the other Inſtruments of Time. And after this Diſperſion he gave in charge to the young Gods the making of humane Bodies, and the making up and adding whatever was wanting and deficient in humane Souls; and that after they had perfected whatever is adherent and conſequent to this, they ſhould rule and govern in the beſt manner they poſſibly could, this mortal Creature, to the end it ſhould not be the Cauſe of its own Evils. For by theſe Words, *that he might be exempt from being the Cauſe of any of their Malice*, he moſt clearly ſignifies the Cauſe of *Fate*; and the Order and Office of the young Gods manifeſts the ſecond *Providence*; and it ſeems alſo in ſome ſort to have touch'd a little upon the third, in he therefore eſtabliſh'd Laws and Ordinances, *that he might be exempt from being the cauſe of any of their Malice.* For God, who is free from all Malice, has no need of Laws or *Fate*; but every one of theſe petty Gods, drawn by the *Providence* of him who has engendred them, performs what belongs to his Office. Now that this is true, and agreeable to the Opinion of *Plato*, theſe Words of the Lawgiver, ſpoken by him in his Book *of Laws*, ſeem to me to give ſufficient Teſtimony. *If there were any Man ſo ſufficient by Nature, or by divine Fortune ſo happily engendred and born that he could comprehend this, he would have no need of Laws to commend him: For there is not any Law or Ordinance more worthy and powerful than knowledge; nor is it fit that he who is truly and really free by Nature, ſhould be a Subject or Slave to any one, but he ought to command all.* I therefore do for mine own part thus underſtand and interpret this Sentence of *Plato*, There being a threefold *Providence*; the firſt, as having engendred *Fate*, does in ſome ſort comprehend it: The ſecond, having been engendred with *Fate*, is with it totally comprehended and embrac'd by the firſt; the third, as having been engendred after *Fate*, is comprehended by it in the ſame manner as are *That, which is in us*, and *Fortune*, as we have already ſaid. *For they, whom the Aſſiſtance of a* Dæmons *Power does aid, are thoſe* (ſays *Socrates*

crates, declaring to *Theages*, what is the inevitable Ordinance of *Adraſtea* (*whom you alſo mean*: *For they grow and come forward with ſpeed.* In which words, what he ſays of a *Dæmons aiding* ſome, is to be aſcrib'd to the third *Providence*; and the *growing and coming forward with ſpeed*, to *Fate*. In brief, 'tis not obſcure or doubtful, but this alſo is a kind of *Fate*. And perhaps it may be found much more probable, that the ſecond *Providence* is alſo comprehended under *Fate* and indeed all things, that are done: Since *Fate*, as a Subſtance, has been rightly by us divided into three Parts. And the Diſcourſe of the Chain, comprehends the Revolutions of the Heavens in the Numbers and Rank of thoſe things, which happen *by Suppoſition*, but concerning theſe things I will not much contend, to wit, whether they ſhould be call'd *Hap'ning by Suppoſition*, or rather Conjoyn'd with *Fate*, the precedent Cauſe and Commander of *Fate*, being alſo fatal. Our Opinion then, to ſpeak compendiouſly, is ſuch. But the contrary Sentiment does not only include all things in *Fate*, but affirms them all to be done by and according to *Fate*. Now all things according *to the Other*, and that which accords to another, 'tis clear, that it is alſo *the other*, According to this Opinion then *Contingent* is ſaid to be the firſt; and, *That which is in us*, the ſecond; and the third *Fortune* and *Chance*, and whatever depends on them; Praiſe, Blame, and whatever depends on them, the fourth; the fifth and laſt of all may be ſaid to be Prayers to the Gods, with their Services and Ceremonies.

For the reſt, as to thoſe which are call'd *Idle and Harveſt* Arguments, and that which is nam'd *Beſide or againſt Deſtiny*, they are indeed but vain Subtleties and captious Sophiſms according to this Diſcourſe. But according to the contrary Opinion, the firſt and principle Concluſion ſeems to be, that there is nothing done without a Cauſe, but that all things depend upon antecedent Cauſes; the ſecond, that the World is govern'd by Nature, and that it conſpires, conſents, and is compatible with it ſelf; the third

ſeem

ſeems rather to be Teſtimonies; of which the firſt is Divination, approv'd by all ſorts of People, as being truly in God; the ſecond is the Equanimity and Patience of wiſe Men, who take mildly, and bear patiently whatever befalls, as hapning by divine Ordinance and as it ought; the third is the Speech, ſo common and uſual in every ones Mouth, to wit, that every Propoſition is true or falſe. Thus have we contracted this Diſcourſe into a ſmall Number of ſhort Articles, that we might in few words comprehend the whole Matter of *Fate*. ** Into which a Scrutiny ought to be made, and the Reaſons of both Opinions to be weigh'd with a moſt exact Balance; but we are *now* coming to diſcuſs Particulars. *****

The Reſt is wanting.

Concerning the firſt Principle of Cold,

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by* F. Fetherſton, *D. D.*

IS there then, *Phavorinus*, any Firſt or Principal Power or Exiſtence of Cold, as Fire is the Principle of Heat, by the preſence and imparting of which all other Things of the ſame Nature become Cold? Or rather is not cold, the Privation of Heat, as they ſay. Darkneſs is the Privation of Light, and Reſt the Privation of Motion? In regard that Cold ſeems to be firm and ſtable, and Heat always in Motion; and for that the Refrigeration of hot things is not c:us'd by the Preſence of any active Power, but by the Departure of the Heat. For we find the Heat go off in great quantity, and then that which remains grows cold. Thus the Vapor which boiling Water ſends forth, ceaſes alſo when the Heat is gone. Therefore Refrigeration expelling the Heat, diminiſhes the Quantity, while nothing ſupplies the Peace of it. Or what if any Perſon ſhould queſtion this way of Arguing, as being that

which

which would aboliſh ſeveral manifeſt Faculties, as being neither Qualities nor Habits, but the Privations of Habits and Qualities? So to make Ponderoſity the Privation of Levity; Hardneſs the Privation of Softneſs, Black of White, Bitter of Sweetneſs? Or elſe for this Reaſon, becauſe all Privation is a thing altogether ſluggiſh and without Action, as Blindneſs, Deafneſs, Silence and Death: For they are the Departure of Forms, and the utter Defacings of Subſtances, not Natures, neither Subſtances of themſelves. But Cold, where ever it reſides, cauſes no leſs Paſſiveneſs and Alteration in Bodies than Heat. For many things are congeal'd by Cold, many things thereby condens'd. So that whatever is ſolid in it and difficult to be mov'd, cannot be ſaid to be ſluggiſh and void of Action, but firm and ponderous, as being ſupported by its own Strength, which is endu'd with a Power to preſerve it in its proper Station. Wherefore Privation is the Deficiency and Departure of the oppoſite Power, but many things are ſubject to be cold, though abounding with Heat within themſelves. And there are ſome things which Cold the more condenſes, and conſolidates the Hotter they are, as Iron quench'd in Water. The *Stoics* alſo affirm, that the Spirit which is in the Bodies of Infants, is quickned by Refrigeration, and changing the Nature of it, turns to a Soul. But this is a thing much to be diſputed. Neither is it rational to believe, that Cold, which is the productive Agent in many other Things, can be a Privation: Beſides, that no Privation is capable of more and leſs. Neither can any Man ſay, among thoſe that cannot ſee that one is more blind than another; or among thoſe that cannot ſpeak, that one is more ſilent than another; or that any thing is more dead than another, among thoſe things that never had Life. But in cold things, there is Exceſs and Diminution to ſeveral degrees; little, and not very little, and in a Word, there is both *Intenſe* and *Remiſs*, as well as in hot things. Now then, becauſe the Matter ſuffers in ſome things more violently, in others more languidly, therefore ſome things are hotter, ſome thing colder than others,

others, according to the Nature of the Matter? For there is no Mixture of Habit with Privation. Neither does any Power admit of Privation oppoſite to it, nor aſſociates with it in the ſame Subject, but withſtands it altogether. Some things alſo continue hot till they come to be mixt with cold things, as Black with White. Heavy with Light, and Sowre with Sweet; by this Community and Harmony of Colours, Sounds, Medicaments and Sawces, affording ſeveral Taſtes and Pleaſures grateful to the Senſes. But the Oppoſition of Privation and Habit, is an Antipathy never to be reconcil'd; the Being of the one enforcing the Deſtruction of the other. Which Deſtruction, if it fall out ſeaſonably, according to the Oppoſition of contrary Powers, many Arts make uſe of, but chiefly Natnre, and that too, among other Occaſions, in the Alterations of the Air, and in all other things, of which the Deity being the Adorner and Diſpenſer, obtains the Attribute of *Harmonical* and *Muſical*; not that thoſe Attributes are given him for the Diſpoſal of *Deep* and *Shrill*, *Black* and *White*; ſo as to make them agree together; but for his governing in the World the Sympathies and Antipathies of Cold and Heat in ſuch a manner as to unite and ſeparate again, and for reducing both to a decent Order, by taking that which we call the *Overmuch* from both. Then again, we find that there is the ſame Senſe and Feeling of Cold as of Heat. On the other ſide, Privation is neither to be ſeen, heard, or felt, neither is it known to any of the other Senſes. For the Object of Senſe is Subſtance; but where no Subſtance appears, there we underſtand Privation to be. Which is a Negation of Subſtance; as Blindneſs of Sight; Silence, of Voice, and Vacuity, of Corporeal Subſtance. For there is no Senſe or Perception of Vacuity by Feeling; but where there is no Body to be felt, there a Vacuity is imply'd: Neither do we hear Silence; but where we do not hear any thing at all, there we imply Silence. Therefore if Cold were a Privation of Hot, there would be no being ſenſible of Cold, but only where Hot ceas'd to be, there Cold would be imply'd. But in regard that as

Heat

Heat is preceptible by the Heat and laxative Softneſs o the Fleſh, ſo Cold is no leſs perceptible by the Contracti on and Condenſation of it; it is from thence apparent that there is ſome peculiar Original and Fountain o Cold, as well as Hot, conſequently the Privation o both Kinds is ſomething ſingle, and ſimply particular: but in Subſtances there are ſeveral Differences and Efficacies. For Silence is a thing but of one ſort; but o Sounds there are great Variety, ſometimes moleſting, ſometimes delightful to the Senſe. There are alſo the ſame Differences in Colours and Figures, which vary as they occur to the Senſes. But that which is not to be felt, is without Colour and void of Quality, can never be diſtinguiſhed, but is like it ſelf. Is Cold therefore to be numbred among thoſe Privations that never act upon paſſive Qualities? Rather the contrary, in regard that Pleaſures very great and beneficial to our Bodies, ariſe from cold things, as no leſs terrible Miſchiefs, Pains and Stupefaction on the other ſide; which the Heat does not alwa y avoid and give way to, but many times inclos'd within the Body, withſtands and oppoſes. Which Contention of theirs is call'd *Quivering* and *Shaking*, at what time, if the Cold overcome the Heat, thence proceeds Numbneſs and Stiffneſs of the Limbs: But if the Cold be vanquiſht by the Heat, there follows a pleaſing warmth and opening of the Skin, which *Homer* expreſſes by the Word θάλπειν, in Latin *Calefacere*, whence Calefaction or gentle Heating. Theſe things are paſt diſpute, and chiefly by theſe paſſive Qualities it is, that we find Cold to be oppoſite to Heat, as Subſtance to Subſtance, or paſſive Quality to paſſive Quality, not as Negation or Privation; neither is it the deſtruction or Aboliſhing of Hot, but a Kind of Nature and Power tending to its Deſtruction. Otherwiſe we ſhould exempt the Winter out of the Seaſons, and the North-Winds out of the Number of the Winds, as being Privations of the warmer Seaſons, and the Southern Gates not having any proper Original. Now in regard there are four firſt Bodies in the Univerſe, which by reaſon of their Number, their being uncompounded, and their

Efficacy are allow'd for the moſt part to be the Princi ples and Beginnings of all other, that is to ſay, Fire and Water, Air and Earth; is there not the ſame Neceſſity that there ſhould be as many *firſt* and uncompounded qualities? And what are they but Heat and Cold, Drought and Moiſture, by vertue of which it comes to paſs that all the Principles act and ſuffer? Thus, as there are in Grammar Abbreviations and Extenſions of Rudiments; in *Muſick*, deep and acute Sounds, tho' not one of them the Privation of the other, we muſt leave the dry, oppos'd to the moiſt Principles. and the Hot to the Moiſt; if we intend to have the Effects a ſwerable to Reaſon and what is viſible in Nature. Unleſs, as it was the Opinion of the ancient *Anaximenes*, we will not allow either Cold or Hot to be in Subſtance, but only to be common, paſſive Qualities accompanying the Alterations of the Matter. For he affirms the Contraction and Condenſation of the Matter to be *Cold*; but the Rarification and Laxation of it (for by that Word he calls it) to be Hot. Whence it may not be improperly ſaid, that a Man breathes Hot and Cold at once. For the Breath grows Cold being compreſt and thicken'd by the Lips; but coming out of the open Mouth it is Hot, as being rarify'd by that Emiſſion. But for this *Ariſtotle* convinces the ſame Perſon of Ignorance: For that when we blow with the Mouth open, we blow hot from our own bodies, but when we blow cold, we do not breathe forth the Air from our ſelves, but th' Air that is before our Mouths is thruſt forward, and lights upon what is next it.

But, if we muſt grant that both Heat and Cold are Subſtances, let us proceed a little farther in our Diſcourſe, and enquire what ſort of Subſtances they are, and what is the firſt Principle and Nature of them.

They then who affirming that there are certain Triangular Figures of equal ſides in our Body, tell us alſo that Shuddering, Trembling and Quivering, and whatever elſe we ſuffer of the ſame Nature, proceed from the Roughneſs of thoſe Figures, who, if they miſtake in the Parts, nevertheleſs derive the Beginning from whence they ought. For we ought to begin the Queſtion, as

from

rom *Veſta*, from the ſubſtance of all things. By whicl t chiefly appears, wherein a Philoſopher differs from a Phyſician, a Husband-man, or a Piper. For it is ſuffi cient for them to contemplate the remote Cauſes. For i he neareſt Conſideration of the Cauſes of the Affection goes no farther, than to find, that the Cauſe of a Fever i ntenſneſs of Heat, or the lightning of ſome Humor where it ought not to be; that the Cauſe of Blaſting i he ſcorching Heat of the Sun after Rain; and that th Cauſe why a Pipe falls, is the Contraction of the Pore of the Wood; it is enough for the Artiſt to know in re ference to his Buſineſs. But when a Philoſopher, fo Contemplations ſake, ſcrutinizes into the Truth, th Knowledge of remote Cauſes is not the End, but the Be ginning of his Proceeding in ſearch of the firſt and ul timate Cauſes. Wherefore *Plato* and *Democritus* enqui ring after the Cauſe of Heat and Gravity, did not ſtop a the Conſideration of Earth and Fire, but bringing things perceptible to Senſe, to Beginnings only intelligi ble by the Mind, they went on even to the ſmalleſt, a it were Seeds of what they ſought for. But it is muc the better way for us in the firſt place to move forwar upon thoſe things which are perceptible to ſenſe, where in *Empedocles*, *Strato* and the *Stoics* plac'd the ſub ſtances of active Qualities. The *Stoics* aſcribing Pri mitive Cold to the Air, *Empedocles* and *Strato* to th Water; and perhaps there might be ſome Body elſ who might affirm the Earth to be the ſubſtance o Cold. But firſt let us conſider the Opinions of thoſ already nam'd.

Seeing then that Fire is both hot and bright, there fore there muſt be ſomething oppoſite to Fire which i Cold and Dark: For as Dark is oppoſite to Light, ſo i Cold to Hot: Beſides, that as Dark confounds the ſight ſo Cold confounds the Feeling. But Heat diffuſes the Senſe of Feeling as Light diffuſes the Senſe of Seeing. Therefore that which is firſt dark in Nature, is firſt Cold. Now that the Air is firſt dark, was not unknon to the Poets; for that they call the Air Darkneſs.

The thicken'd Air the Fleet with Darkneſs cover'd,
Nor could the Moon light be from Heav'n diſcover'd.

And again,

Then Darkneſs ſcatter'd and the Fog diſpell'd,
The Sun brake forth, and all the Fight beheld.

They alſo call the Air, when it is without Light *Cnephas*, Darkneſs or Twi-light, as being as it were Κενὸν φάους, void or empty of Light. The Words alſo ἀχλὺς and ὀμίχλη, the one ſignifying a Fog, and the other a Miſt, and whatever elſe reſtrains the Perception of Light from the ſenſe, are but Diſtinctions of the Air; inſomuch that the ſame part of it which is inviſible, and without Colour, is call'd *Hades* and *Acheron*. So that as the Air grows dark when the ſplendor of it fails, in like manner, when Heat fails, that which is left is no more than cold Air, which by reaſon of its Coldneſs is call'd *Tartarus*. And this *Heſiod* makes manifeſt, when he calls it Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα, or *Aëry Tartarus*; and when a Man quakes and ſhivers for Cold, he is ſaid to *Tartarize*. And ſo much for this.

But in regard Corruption is the Alteration of thoſe things that are corrupted into that which is contrary to every one of them, let us conſider whether it be a true ſaying, The Death of Fire is the Generation of Air: For Fire dies like a living Creature, being quench'd by force, or going out of its own accord. Now Quenching makes the Alteration of it into Air more conſpicuous: For Smoak is a ſort of Air, or according to *Pindar*, a fuliginous Vapor of the Air, in oppoſition to Smoak, otherwiſe call'd Steam or Exhalation. On the other ſide, when Fire goes out for want of Fuel, as in Candles, you ſhall obſerve a thick and cloudy Air aſcending from the Top of them. Moreover, the Vapor ſteaming from our Bodies, upon the pouring of cold Water after hot Bathing, or Sweating, ſufficiently declares the Alteration of extinguiſh'd Heat into Air, as being naturally oppoſite to Air; whence it follows, that the Air was at firſt dark and cold. Then again, Congelation, which is the moſt forcible and violent of all things that befal

our Bodies, by reaſon of Cold, is the Paſſiveneſs of Water, but the Action of Air. For Water of it ſelf is eaſily diffus'd, looſe in its Parts, and not readily congeal'd together; but it is thicken'd and compreſs by the Air, by reaſon of the Coldneſs of it. Which is the Reaſon of the Proverb,

But if the Southern Wind provoke the North,
Snow ſtreight well cover all the Earth.

For the Southern Wind preparing the Moiſture for Matter, preſently the North-Wind receives and congeals it. And this is manifeſt from the Conſideration of Snow, which e'er it falls, you ſhall obſerve a thin and ſharp cold Air breathing before it. *Ariſtotle* alſo tells us, that Wheatſtones of Lead will melt and run in the Winter through exceſs of Freezing Cold, meerly upon the ſetting of the Water near them: For 'tis probable that the Air compreſſes and gripes the Bodies ſo cloſe together, that at length it breaks and crumbles them in pieces. And therefore Water drawn from a Fountain ſooneſt congeals: For the More of Cold in the Air overcomes the Leſs of Cold in the Water. Thus if a Man takes cold Water out of a Well, and puts it into a Veſſel, and then let the Veſſel down again into the Well, ſo that it may not touch the Water, but hang for ſome time in the Air, the Water will be much colder. Whence it is apparent, that the Coldneſs of the Water, is not the firſt Cauſe of Coldneſs, but the Coldneſs of the Air. For you do not find that any of your great Rivers are ever throughly frozen, by reaſon of their Depth. For the Air doth not pierce through the Whole, only ſo much as it can ſeize and embrace with its cold Quality, ſo much generally freezes and no more. Therefore the *Barbarians* never croſs over frozen Rivers till they have ſent a Fox before to try the Depth of the Ice. For if the Ice be not very thick, but only ſuperficial, the Fox perceiving it by the Noiſe of the Water floating underneath, returns. And ſome there are that melt the Ice with hot Water, to make way for their Lines, when they go to catch Fiſh in Winter. So that nothing ſuf-

fers from Cold in the Depth of the Water. Nevertheleſs, ſo great has been the Alteration of the upper Parts of the Water by Congelation, that ſeveral Veſſels riding in the Stream, have been bruis'd and broken by the forcible Compreſſure and Griping of the Congelation; as we have heard from them who lately had their Winter-Quarters with *Cæſar* upon the *Danaw*.

And indeed, what happens to our ſelves is ſufficient to demonſtrate the Truth of this. For after hot Bathings and Sweatings, we are moſt ſenſible of Cold, at what time our Bodies being open, and the Skin relax'd, we give a freer Entrance to the Cold, together with the Ambient Air And after the very ſame manner the Water it ſelf ſuffers. For it ſooner freezes if it be firſt heated, as being thereby rendred more eaſie for the Air to work upon. And therefore they who lade out ſcalding Water, and let it fall again from a good height in the Air, do it to no other purpoſe than to mix it with a great deal of Air. And therefore *Favourinus*, the Arguments that attribute the firſt Power of Cold to the Air, are grounded upon theſe Probabilities; thoſe that allow it to Water, lean upon Principles of the ſame Nature. And this was intimated by *Empedocles*, where he ſays

Behold the Sun, how warm he is,
And bright ly ſhining every where;
But Rain and Tempeſts Black and Dark
With Horror fill the Air.

And thus oppoſing Heat to Cold, and Dark to Bright, he gives us to underſtand, that Black and Cold are both of the ſame Subſtance, as alſo are Bright and Hot. Now that Black is proper to the Water and not to the Air, Senſe it ſelf bears witneſs. Nothing being darkned by the Air, all things being clouded and blacken'd by Water. So that if you throw the whiteſt Wool that is, or a white Garment into the Water, it comes out black, and ſo remains, till the Moiſture be dry'd up again by the Heat, or that it be ſqueez'd forth by Preſſes or Weights. Alſo when the ground is watered, the Places that re-

ceive the Drops grow black, the reſt retaining their former Colour. And therefore the deepeſt Waters, by reaſon of their Quantity always appear blackeſt, but the Parts which are next the Air, afford a lovely and ſmiling Brightneſs. But of all Liquids, Oyl is the moſt tranſparent because of the great Quantity of Air that is in it. And of this, the Lightneſs of it is an unqueſtionable Proof; the reaſon why it ſwims above all things, as carry'd upward by the Air. Being pour'd forth upon the Waves it will cauſe Calmneſs upon the Sea, not because it is ſo ſlippery that the Winds can have no Power over it, as *Ariſtotle* thought, but becauſe the Waves will fall and ſink, when ſmitten by any moiſt Body. And this is alſo peculiar to Oyl, that it ſhines and ſhews it ſelf tranſparent at the bottom of the Water, while the watry Humors are diſpers'd by the Air. For being ſpurted out of the Mouth into the Sea, not only by thoſe that take Spunges in the Night upon the Superficies of the Water, but alſo by thoſe that dive for them to the bottom of the Sea, it will caſt a Light in the Water. Water therefore has more of blackneſs than the Air, but leſs of cold. Oyl therefore partaking more of Air, than moſt liquid things, is leaſt cold nor will it eaſily nor ſuddenly freeze; for the Air which is mixt with it will not ſuffer the Congelation to grow hard. And therefore, as for Needles, Steel Buckles, and ſuch ſort of ſmall Iron and Steel Wares, they never quench them in Water but in Oyl, fearing leaſt the over-coldneſs of the Water ſhould make them too brittle. And indeed the Truth is more truly enquir'd into from the Conſideration of theſe Experiments, than thoſe of Colours. For Hail, Snow and Ice, as they are moſt tranſparent, ſo they are moſt cold; and Pitch, as it is hotter, ſo it is blacker and darker than Honey. Which makes me admire at thoſe who affirm the Air to be cold, becauſe it is dark and obſcure, unleſs it be becauſe they find others affirming it to be hot, becauſe it is light. For dark is not ſo proper and familiar to cold, as heavy and ſtable; for many things that are void of heat, partake of Splendor and Light, but there is nothing cold that is

light nimble, or apt to aſcend upward. Even the Clouds themſelves, while they preſerve the Nature of Air, towre aloft in the Sky; but changing into moiſture, they preſently fall down, and having admitted coldneſs, they loſe their lightneſs as well as their heat. And ſo on the other ſide, having regain'd their heat, they again return to Motion, their Subſtance being carri'd upward, as ſoon as it is chang'd into Air.

Neither is the Argument produc'd from Corruption, true. For nothing that periſhes is corrupted into what is oppoſite, but by what is oppoſite to it; as Fire extinguiſh'd by Water, changes into Air. And therefore *Eſchylus* ſpake not ſo much like a *Tragedian*, as a Philoſopher, when he ſaid,

The Water curbs that Puniſhment of Fire.

In like manner *Homer* oppos'd in Battle *Vulcan* to the River, and *Apollo* to *Neptune*, more like a Philoſopher than a Poet or Mythologiſt. And *Archilochus* ſpoke not amiſs of a Woman whoſe Thoughts were contrary to her Words, when he ſaid,

She, weaving ſubtle Trains and ſlye Fegaries,
Fire in one hand, in th' other Water carries.

Among the *Perſians* there were ſeveral Cuſtoms of Supplication, of which, the chiefeſt, and that which would admit of no refuſal, was, when the Suppliant taking Fire in his Hand, and entring into a River, threatned if his Supplications were deni'd, to thro the Fire into the Water. But tho' his Suit were granted him, yet he was puniſh'd for Threatning, as being againſt the Law, and contrary Nature. And this is a vulgar Proverb in every bodies Mouth, *to mix Fire with Water*, ſpoken of thoſe that would attempt Impoſſibilities; to ſhew that Water is an Enemy to Fire, and being extinguiſh'd thereby, is deſtroy'd and puniſh'd by it: not by the Air, which upon the change and deſtruction of it, receives and entertains the ſubſtance of it. For if that into which the thing deſtroy'd be contrary to it, much

much more does Fire ſeem contrary to Air then Water. For Air changes into Water by Condenſation; but into Fire by diſſipation; as, on the other ſide, Water is deſtroy'd into Air by Separation; into Earth by Condenſation. Which, in my Opinion, happens by reaſon of the Propriety and near Affinity between both, not from any thing of Contrariety and Hoſtility one to another. Others there are, that which way ſoever they maintain it, ſpoil the Argument. For it is moſt irrational to ſay that Water is congeal'd by the Air, when they never ſaw the Air congeal'd in their Lives. For Clouds, Fogs and Miſts are no Congelations, but Thickenings and Condenſations of the Air, moiſt and full of Vapors; but a dry Air void of moiſture never undergoes refrigeration to ſuch a change. For there are ſome Mountains that never admit of a Cloud, nor Dew, nor Miſt, their tops being ſo high, as to reach into an Air that is pure and void of moiſture. Whence it is manifeſt that it is the Condenſation and Conſiſtency below, which contributes that cold and moiſture to the Air, which is mix'd with it.

Now that great Rivers never freeze downward, is but conſentaneous to reaſon. For thoſe Parts which are frozen above tranſmit no Exhalations outward; for that being penn'd up within, and forc'd downward, it affords heat to the moiſture at the bottom. A clear demonſtration of which is this, that when the Ice is diſſolv'd, you may obſerve a ſteam ariſing out of the Water upwards in a very great quantity. And therefore the Bodies of living Creatures are warmeſt within in the Winter, for that the heat is driven inward by the ambient cold. Now thoſe upward Exhalations and Aſcenſions of the Vapors, not only deprive the Waters of their heat but of their coolneſs; and therefore they that vehemently deſire their drink to be cold, never move the Snow nor the moiſture that is preſs'd out of it; for Motion would deprive them both of the Vertue which is requir'd from them.

Now that this Vertue is not the Vertue of Air but of Water, a Man may hence collect by reaſoning

Firſt

Firſt, it is not probable that the Air which is next the Sky, and touching the fiery Subſtance is alſo touch'd by it, ſhould be endu'd with a contrary Vertue; for otherwiſe it is not poſſible that the Extremities of the one ſhould touch and be contiguous to the extremities of the other. Nor is it agreeable to reaſon that Nature ſhould conſtitute that which is corrupted next in order to that which corrupts; as if ſhe were not the Author of Community and Harmony, but of Combat and Contention. For ſhe does not make uſe of things not pure and without mixture, nor of things diſſimilar, but ſuch as have alternately a certain Diſpoſition and Order not to advance Privation, but apt to communicate and co-operate one with another by ordain'd means. And this is the nature of the Air being expanded under the Fire above the Water, contingent and adhering to both, neither hot in it ſelf nor cold but containing an intermixture and communion of hot and cold, harmleſly intermix'd in her ſelf; and lightly cheriſhing the contrary Extremities. Therefore the Air is of an equal temper in all Places, but Winter is not in all Places alike, nor equally cold, but ſome parts of the habitable World are cold and moiſt, others hot and dry; not by chance, but becauſe there is but one Subſtance of heat and cold. For the greateſt part of *Africa* is hot and without Water. But they that have travell'd *Scythia*, *Thrace* and the *Pontic* Regions, report them to be full of vaſt Lakes, and large and deep Rivers. And as for thoſe Regions that lye between both thoſe parts that joyn upon Lakes and Marſhes, are moſt cold by reaſon of the Exhalations from the Water.

Poſidonius therefore affirming the moiſtneſs of the Air to be the cauſe of cold, has no way diſturb'd the probability of our Argument, but rather added to the ſtrength of it, for the Air would not always be the colder the freſher it is, unleſs cold has its Origial from moiſture. And therefore *Homer* much more truly ſhews us the Fountain of cold, when he ſays,

A cool Refreſhment from the River breath'd.

Then again it many times happens that our Senſe deceives us. So that when we feel cold Garments, or cold Wool, we believe we feel them to be moiſt, by reaſon of the Subſtance which is common to both, and of their Natures which are coherent and familiar one with another. But in Climates where the cold is extream, it ofte ntimes breaks and cracks both Pots and Veſſels, whether made of Earth or Braſs; none empty, but all full; the cold giving force and might to the Liquor within; which made *Theophraſtus* ſay, that the Air breaks thoſe Veſſels, making uſe of the cold as of a Hammer; whether more eloquently or more truly ſpoken, I leave you to judge. For then Veſſels full of Pitch or Milk ſhould be more ſubject to be broken by the Air.

But Water ſeems to be cold of it ſelf, and that primitively too; for in reſpect of the coldneſs of it, it is oppoſite to the heat of the Fire; as to drought, in reſpect of its moiſture; and to ponderoſity, in regard of the lightneſs of it. *Laſtly*, Fire is altogether of a diſſipating and dividing Nature; Water, of a Nature to faſten and contain, holding and joyning together by vertue of its moiſture. Which was the reaſon why *Empedocles* call'd Fire a *pernicious Contention*, but Water a *vehement Friendſhip*. For the Nouriſhment of Fire is that which changes into Fire, and it changes that which is as it were of Kin and familiar to it. What is contrary to it, as Water, cannot be chang'd by it, or at leaſt with great difficulty. True it is, that as for it ſelf, as I may ſo ſay, it cannot be burnt, but as for green Wood and wet Straw, it overcomes them with much ſtrugling, while the heat and cold contending together by reaſon of their moiſture and their natural Antipathy, produces only a dull flame, clouded with ſmoak, that makes little progreſs upon the Materials. Compare theſe Arguments with theirs, and conſider 'em well.

But

But *Chryſippus* believing the Air to be the primitive Cold, becauſe it is dark, makes mention only of thoſe that ſay the Water lies at farther diſtance from the Sky than the Air; and being deſirous to give ſome Anſwer to them. If ſo, ſays he, we may as well affirm the Earth to be primitively cold, becauſe it is the fartheſt diſtant from the Skye; rejecting that, as altogether improbable and abſurd. But for my part I am of Opinion that there might be many probable and rational Arguments brought for the Earth, beginning with that which *Chryſippus* chi fly makes uſe of for the Air. Which is thus, *Firſt*, that it is dark. For, if he, aſſuming theſe two Contrarieties and Faculties, believes that the one follows the other of neceſſity, then there might be produc'd a thouſand Oppoſitions and Repugnances of the Earth in reſpect of the Sky, which would of neceſſity follow upon this which we have mention'd. For it is not to be only oppos'd as heavy to Light, or as that which tends downward, to that which moves upward; or as ſlow and ſtable, to ſwift and full of Motion; but as that which is heavieſt, to that which is moſt thin; or laſtly, as that which is immoveable of it ſelf, to that which moves ſpontaneouſly, and as poſſeſſing the middle ſpace, to that which is in a perpetual circular Motion. Would it not be abſurd to aver that the oppoſition of heat to cold is accompany'd with ſo many ſuch remarkable Contrarieties? But Fire is bright, the Earth is dark; nay, the very darkeſt and moſt void of Light of all things. The Air firſt of all participates of Light, is ſooneſt alter'd, and being repleniſh'd with radiancy, diffuſes the Splendor of it far and near, and ſhews it ſelf a vaſt Body of Light. For the Sun riſing, as one of the *Ditharambick* Authors writes,

——— *Preſently fill'd*
The ſpacious Houſe of the Air-prancing winds.

From thence the deſcending Air diſpoſes a part of her brightneſs to the Sea and ſtanding Lakes, and the hidden depths of profound Rivers laugh and ſmile

ſmile ſo far as the Air penetrates into them. Only the Earth of all other Bodies remains without light, and impenetrable to the Beams of the Sun and Moon. But it is cheriſh'd and comforted by them, and ſuffers a ſmall part of it to be warm'd and ſoften'd by entrance of the heat. But the ſolidneſs of it will not admit the brightneſs of Light, only the Surface of it is enlighten'd; but the innermoſt parts of it are call'd by the Names of *Darkneſs*, *Chaos* and *Hades*; and *Erebus* is nothing elſe but that ſame perpetual darkneſs and horror in the Body of the Earth; beſides that the *Mythologiſts* tell us that Night was the Daughter of the Earth. The *Mathematicians* alſo ſhew us the Shadow of the Earth eclipſing the Body of the Sun. For the Air is fill'd with darkneſs by the Earth, as with Light by the Sun; and that part of the Air which is moſt void of Light, is that ſame length of the Night which is caus'd by the Shadow of the Earth. And therefore both Men and Beaſts make uſe of the exterior part of the Air, and ramble in the dark, guided only by ſome footſteps of Light, and certain Effluxes of a dim twinkling that are ſcatter'd through it; but he that keeps Houſe and ſhuts himſelf up in his Chamber, as being encompaſs'd by the Earth, remains altogether blind and without Light. Alſo the Hides and Horns of Beaſts will not admit of Light by reaſon of their Solidneſs; but being burnt and ſhav'd, they become tranſparent, the Air being intermixt with them. Moreover I am of Opinion that the Earth is every where by the Poets ſaid to be black, by reaſon of the darkneſs of it, and want of Light. So that the *Antitheſis* of Light and Darkneſs is much more remarkable in reference to the Earth, than in reſpect of the Air.

But this is nothing to the Queſtion. For we have ſhewn that there are many cold things which are bright and tranſparent, and many hot things which are obſcure and dark. But ponderoſity, ſtability, denſity, and immutability, are Qualities more properly belonging to Cold, of none of which the Air partakes, but of all which the Earth has a far greater ſhare than the Water.

Water. And yet in all theſe things cold by the Judgment of Senſe it ſelf, appears to be hard, to cause hardneſs, and to make reſiſtance. For *Theophraſtus* tells of Fiſh that have been frozen by extremity of cold when they have chanced to bounce aſhoar; and that their Bodies have been broken and crumbled to pieces like a Veſſel of Glaſs or Potters Clay.

You your ſelf have heard at *Delphos* how that certain Perſons aſcending to the Mop of *Parnaſſus* to ſuccor the *Thyades* that were overtaken with a violent Storm of Wind and Hail, their Coats were frozen ſo hard, and into a ſubſtance ſo like Wood, that being ſpread upon the Ground they broke and crumbled to pieces. It alſo ſtiffens the Nerves, and deprives the Tongue of Motion, congealing the moiſt and ſofter parts of the Body; which being obvious to ſight, let us conſider the Effect.

Every Faculty, wherever it prevails, changes into it ſelf whatever it overcomes. Thus whatever is overcome by heat, is ſet on fire; that which is vanquiſh'd by Wind, is chang'd into Air. That which falls into Water, becomes well moiſten'd, unleſs quickly ſav'd. Of neceſſity therefore thoſe things which are violently affected by cold, muſt be chang'd into the primitive Cold. For freezing is an exceſs of Refrigeration; which Congelation ends in Alteration and Putrifaction, when the cold prevailing every way, congeals the liquid Subſtance, and preſſes forth the Heat; ſo that the bottom of the Earth is, as it were, a kind of Congelation, and altogether Ice (for there the Cold inhabits ſimple, and unmix'd, and remov'd hard and rigid at the greateſt diſtance from the Sky) but as for thoſe things which are conſpicuous, as Rocks and Precipices, *Empedocles* believes to be thruſt forth and ſupported by the Fire that burns in the bottom of the Earth. Which appears the more, in regard that where ever the heat is preſs'd forth and vaniſhes away, all thoſe things are congeal'd by the Cold; and therefore Congelations are call'd πήξεις, *Coagmentations or Faſtnings together*; and the extremities of many things

where

where heat fails, growing black, make them look like brands when the fire is out. For Cold congeals ſome things more, ſome things leſs; more eſpecially ſuch things wherein it is primitively exiſtent. For as if it be the Nature of hot to render Light, that which is hotteſt is lighteſt; if of moiſt to ſoften, that which is moiſteſt is ſofteſt; ſo if it be the nature of Cold to congeal, of neceſſity that which is coldeſt muſt be moſt congeal'd, that is to ſay the Earth, and that which is moſt cold muſt be that which is by nature and primitively cold; which is no more than what is apparent to Senſe. For Mud is colder than Water, and Earth being thrown upon Fire puts it out. Your *Smiths* alſo when their Iron is melted and red hot, ſtrow upon it the duſt of Marble to cool it, and ſtop the running of it too fluidly. Duſt alſo cools the Bodies of the Wreſtlers, and dries up their ſweat. To go no farther, what means our own yearly Practice to alter our Lodgings and Habitations, while we remove in the Winter ſo far as we can into the upper parts of our Buildings, but in the Summer deſcending again and ſeeking convenient refuge in the lower Edifices, and ſometimes enjoying our ſelves under ground in the very Arms of the Earth? Do we not do it, as being guided by our Senſes, for coolneſs ſake to the Earth, and thereby acknowledging that to be the ſeat of primitive cold. And certainly our coveting to live near the Sea in Winter, may be thought to be a kind of flight upon the Earth of thoſe that ſeem to forſake it, by reaſon of the nipping Froſts, and run to encircle themſelves with the Air of the Sea for warmths ſake; but then again in the Summer, by reaſon of the ſcorching heat, we deſire the Earth born Upland-Air, not becauſe it is cold of it ſelf, but becauſe it had its Original and bloſſom'd from the primitive natural cold, and is imbu'd with that power which is in the Earth, as Iron is imbu'd with the Vertue of the Water wherein it is quench'd. Then again, of River Waters we find thoſe are the coldeſt, that flow upon Gravel and Stones, and fall down from Mountains, and of Well-waters, thoſe which are in the deepeſt Wells;

Wells; for with theſe the exterior Air is no longer mix'd by reaſon of the depth of the Wells, and the other ariſe out of the pure and unmixt Earth; like the River that falls from the Mountain *Tenarus*, which they call the Water of *Styx*, riſing out of a Rock with a parcimonious Spring, but ſo cold that no other Veſſel except the Hoof of an Aſs, will hold it; for all other ſorts of Veſſels it breaks and cracks to pieces. The Phyſitians alſo tell us that the Nature of all ſorts of Earth is binding and reſtrictive; and they number up ſeveral ſorts of Metals which are made uſe of in Phyſic by reaſon of their ſtyptick and binding Qualities. For the Element of Earth is neither fit to cut, nor move, neither has it any points, neither is it ſubject to be ſoften'd or melted; but is firm and ſtable like a Cube; and therefore it has both ponderoſity and *coldneſs*; had it but the faculty to thicken and *condenſe* moiſt things; nevertheleſs it cauſes tremblings and quiverings in our Bodies by reaſon of its inequality, and if it get the better by the utter expulſion and extinguiſhing of the heat, it occaſions a frozen and deadly habit of Body. Therefore the Earth never conſumes by burning, neither does Fire conſume it, or Prey upon it, but with a very ſlow and difficult Progreſs. But the Air many times darts forth flame from it ſelf, and being once ſet on fire, grows fluid, and flaſhes out in Lightning. Heat alſo feeds upon moiſture; for it is not the ſolid part of the Wood, but the moiſt and oyly part that is combuſtible. Which being conſum'd, the ſolid and dry is left behind in the Aſhes. Neither do they arrive at their mark, who pretending to burn the Aſhes alſo, ſprinkle them with Oyl and Greaſe; for when the Liquid is conſum'd, the earthy part remains, do what they can. Therefore, becauſe the Earth is of a Nature not to be mov'd from its Station, unalterable in its Subſtance and always abiding in the habitation of the Gods, the Ancients call'd it *Heſtia* or *Veſta*, from ſtanding, by reaſon of its immobility and concretion, of which cold is the Bond or Ligament, as *Archelaus* the Philoſopher term'd it, which nothing is able to unlooſen, or ſoften, as not being capable of heat and warmth.

As

As for thoſe who ſay they have been ſeen ſenſible of the cold of Air and Water, but never felt the Earth ſo cold. They conſider only the ſurface of the Earth, which is a mixture of Air, Water, Sun and Heat; a ſort of People who deny the Air to be naturally and primitively hot, but either ſcalding Water, or red hot Iron; becauſe they feel and handle the one, but are not ſenſible of the pure and cœleſtial Fire; in like manner, neither do they ſee the Earth which lies conceal'd at the bottom, tho' that be what is chiefly to be taken for the Earth, ſeparated from all other things. The truth of which is demonſtrable from ſeveral Rocks, which from the deep ſend forth a cold Vapor ſo ſharp and vehement that it is hard to be endur'd. They alſo that deſire cool drink, throw ſmall Flint-ſtones into Water: For it becomes thick and quicker to the Taſte, through the Cold which is carri'd upward freſh and unmix'd from the Stones.

Therefore it was the Opinion of the Ancient Philoſophers and learned Men, that terreſtrial and cœleſtial Things were not to be mix'd together, not ſo much out of a local Conſideration of uppermoſt and lowermoſt, in reſpect of place, but with a reſpect to the difference of Faculties, attributing hot and ſplendent, ſwift and light to the Immortal and Sempiternal Nature, but believing dark and cold and ſlow, to be the unhappy Portion of the dead under the Shackles of Corruption. More eſpecially ſince the Body of a living Creature, while it breathes and flouriſhes (as the Poets ſay) enjoys both Heat and Life. But being depriv'd of theſe, and only the terreſtrial Parts remaining, preſently cold and ſtiffneſs takes place as if heat were naturally exiſtent in every thing elſe, but only in the Earth. Theſe things, dear *Favorinus* compare with what has been ſaid by others; which if they neither come too ſhort of probability, nor too much exceed it, bid all their Opinions farewel, as believing it much more becoming a Philoſopher to pauſe in dubious Matters, rather then over haſtily to ſide with any one particular Party.

Whether Water or Fire be moſt Uſeful?

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by the ſame Hand.*

WAter, the beſt of things, but Gold is burning Fire, ſays *Pindarus*. Therefore he poſitively aſſigns the ſecond Place to Fire. with whom *Heſiod* agreed, where he ſays,

Firſt of all Chaos *being had* ——

For moſt believe that by the word *Chaos* he meant Water, from *Chaos* ſignifying *Diffuſion*. But the Ballance of Argument, as to this Point, ſeems to be equal. For there are ſome who will have Fire to be the Principle of all things, and that like *Sperm* it begets all things out of it ſelf, and reſolves all things again by Conflagration. Therefore, not to mention the Perſons, let us conſider the Arguments on both ſides, which are to us the moſt convincing.

Now then is not that the moſt uſeful to us, which in all places, and always, and moſt of all, we ſtand in need of? Like a piece of Houſhold-ſtuff, or a Tool, nay, like a Friend that is ready at all Hours and Seaſons. But Fire is not always uſeful; for ſometimes it is a prejudice to us, and we avoid it we can. But Water is uſeful, Winter and Summer, to the Healthy and Sick, Night and Day, neither indeed is there any time, but that a Man has need of it. Therefore it is that the Dead are call'd *Alibantes*, as being without Moiſture, and by that means depriv'd of Life; and Man may be without Fire, but never was any Man without Water; beſides, that which was exiſtent from the beginning; and with the firſt Creation of Man muſt be thought more uſeful than what was afterwards invented. From whence it is apparent, that Nature beſtow'd the one upon us as a thing abſolutely neceſſary; the other Fortune and Art found out for ſuperfluity of Uſes; nor was the time ever known that man could ever ſay he never ſtood in need of Water, or that it was an Invention of any of the Gods or Heroes; but the Uſe of Fire was a late Invention of

Prometheus, at what time Life was without *Fire*, not without Water. And that this is no Poetical Fiction, is demonſtrable from this, that there are many ſorts of People, that live without Fire, without Houſes, without Chimneys, in the open Air. And *Diogenes* the *Cynick* made no uſe of Fire; ſo that after he had ſwallow'd a raw Fiſh, *This Hazard*, ſaid he, *do I run for your Sakes*; but without Water no Man ever thought it convenient or poſſible to live. But why do I confine my Diſcourſe only to the Nature of Men; Seeing there are ſo many Infinite ſorts of Creatures (the Uſe of Fire being only known to Man) that live and feed, without Fire upon Roots, Fruits and raw Fleſh; but without Water, neither Fiſh, nor Fowl, nor Land-Animals can ſubſiſt. For all Beaſts that feed upon Fleſh, of which there are ſome, as *Ariſtotle* reports, that never drink, nevertheleſs ſupport Life and Being meerly by Moiſture. So that of neceſſity, that muſt be moſt profitable, without which no ſort of Life can ſubſiſt or endure.

Let us therefore make a Step from things that make no uſe of Fire, to things that we our ſelves make uſe of, ſuch are Plants and Fruits; of which ſome are altogether void of heat, others enjoy it but imperfectly and obſcurely. But Moiſture cauſes all things to germinate, increaſe and bring forth. Why ſhould I ſtand to reckon up Wine and Oyl, and whatever elſe we reap, and bring forth, and ſee before our Eyes? When Wheat it ſelf, which is look'd upon as a dry Nouriſhment, grows by alteration, putrefaction and corruption of the moiſt Matter.

Then again, that is moſt uſeful, which is no way detrimental. Now Fire eaſily becomes moſt pernicious, but the Nature of Water is never prejudicial.

In the next place, that is moſt uſeful which affords the Benefit which it brings with leaſt Expence, and without any Preparation. But the Benefit of Fire requites Coſt and Materials, and therefore the Rich make more uſe of it than the Poor; and Princes, than Private Perſons; but Water has that Kindneſs for Mankind,

kind, that it freely proſtrates it ſelf to all alike, a Benefit perfect in it ſelf, indigent of nothing, and wanting neither Tools nor Implements.

Moreover that which by Augmentation loſes the benefit of it, is of leaſt uſe. Such is Fire, which like a devouring Beaſt, ravages all before it, uſeful rather by Art and skilful Moderation, then of its own Nature. But from Water there is nothing to be feat'd.

Furthermore, that is moſt uſeful, which may be joyn'd with another. But Fire will not admit of Water; neither is it any way profitable by Conjunction with it. But Water becomes profitable by joyning with Fire, and therefore hot Waters are wholeſom, and ſenſibly cure ſeveral Diſeaſes. Neither ſhall you ever find moiſt Fire, but Water both cold and hot, profitable for the Body of Man.

Then again there being four Elements, Water produces a fifth out of its ſelf, which is the Sea, no leſs beneficial than the reſt, as well for Commerce, as for many other things. So that it may be ſaid this Element united and perfected our manner of Living, which before was wild and unſociable, correcting it by mutual Aſſiſtance, and creating Community of Friendſhip by reciprocal Exchanges of one good Turn for another. Therefore ſaid *Heraclitus*, *If there were no Sun, it would be perpetual Night*: as much as to ſay, if there were no Sea, Man would be the moſt ſavage and ſhameleſs of all Creatures. But the Sea brought the Vine into *Greece*, and out of *Greece* tranſmitted the Uſe of Corn to Forreign Parts: from *Phœnicia* tranſlated the Knowledge of Letters, the Memorials that prevent Oblivion; furniſh'd the World with wine and Fruit, and prevented the greateſt part of Mankind from being Illiterate and void of Education. How is it poſſible then but that Water ſhould be the moſt uſeful, when it thus far exceeds the Element of Fire? Or what can any Man ſay in defence of the Contrary.

We ſay then, the Deity appointed the four Elements to compleat the Fabric of the Univerſe; and theſe being different one from another; only that Earth and Water

Water were ſubjected, as being made and form'd inſtead of Materials; and participating of Form and Order, and of Power to procreate and bring forth, ſo far as they are aſſiſted by Air and Fire, the great Artificers that mould them into various Shapes; and lying dead, till rous'd by them to act and generate; of which two latter, Fire is the ruling Agent; as is manifeſt by induction.

For Earth without Warmth and Heat is altogether barren and unfruitful; but Fire, by Vertue of its rowſing and inflaming Quality, renders it diffuſive, and ſwells it into Generation. Nor can any Man find out any other Cauſe, why Rocks and the dry Tops of Mountains are not productive; but becauſe they participate either nothing at all, or very little of Fire. Then generally for Water, it is ſo far from being ſufficient of it ſelf, for the Generation and Preſervation of other things, that it is it ſelf deſtroy'd for want of Fire. But Fire is that which upholds every thing in its proper Being, and preſerves it in its proper Subſtance, as well Water it ſelf, as all other things; ſo that when Fire leaves it, Water will ſtink, and it may be ſaid, that the want of Fire is the Death and Deſtruction of Water. And thus we find that Pools and all manner of ſtanding Waters, and ſuch as are ſetled in Cavities not to be come at what an offenſive and dead Stench they ſend forth, and all for want of Motion; which as it kindles heat in all things, ſo more eſpecially in running Waters and ſwift Streams, which being thus agitated and enliven'd by Heat, we commonly ſay ſuch Waters *Live*. Why then ſhould not that be accounted the moſt uſeful of the two that affords to the other the Cauſe of its Being, as Fire does to Water? For there is Moiſture alſo in things after they are dead, nor are they altogether dry'd up; for otherwiſe moiſt Bodies would never putrifie; ſince Putrifaction is th' Alteration of Dry into Moiſt, or rather, the Corruption of Moiſture in Fleſh. Neither is Death any other than an abſolute Defect and want of Heat; and therefore dead Carkaſſes are the Coldeſt of all. So that if you do but touch them with a Razor, they will

blunt the Edge of it, through Exceſs of Coldneſs Alſo in living Creatures, thoſe Parts that leaſt partake of Heat, are moſt inſenſible, as the Bones and Hair. And thoſe Parts which are moſt diſtant from the Heart: So that the Difference which appears in living Things, is more or leſs, as their Heat is more or leſs vigorous. For Plants and Fruits are not produc'd by Moiſture, but by the Warmth of the Moiſture; and cold Waters are moſt certainly, either leſs productive, or altogether barren. For if Water were fruitful in it ſelf, it would always, and that ſpontaneouſly too, bear Fruit. But the contrary is apparent, and that it is rather baneful to generation from another Principle.

Now as to the Uſe of Fire, conſider'd as Fire, we have no need of Water, rather the contrary is to be made out; for Water extinguiſhes Fire. And as for Water, there is no uſe to be made of it in moſt things without Fire. For Water heated becomes uſeful, whereas otherwiſe it is prejudicial. So that of the two, that is to be accounted beſt, which is profitable of it ſelf, without the aſſiſtance of another. Beſides that Water is only beneficial to the Feeling, when you either waſh with it, or touch it: But Fire is profitable to all the Senſes; not only being felt, but ſeen at a Diſtance; ſo that you may add this to the reſt of the Vertues of it, that they are manifold and extraordinary.

Then to ſay, that Man did once ſubſiſt without Fire, is a Miſtake; it being impoſſible that Man ſhould be without it. But we muſt acknowledge there are Differences in this Kind, as well as in other things. Thus Heat has rendred the Sea more beneficial, as having a greater Portion of Heat in it than other Waters, from which it otherwiſe differs not at all. And as for thoſe that have no need of outward Fire, they do not avoid it becauſe they do not want it, but becauſe they abound in Heat within themſelves. So that the Uſe of Fire ſeems to be more excellent in this, that Water is never in ſuch a Condition as not to want external Aids; but Fire, endu'd with manifold Vertues, contents it ſelf with its own Sufficiency. Therefore, as he is the beſt

beſt Commander, who ſo manages the Affairs of his City, as not to have any need of Foreign Aſſiſtance; ſo that Element excels, that ſupplies us in ſuch a manner, as to want the leaſt of other Helps from without. And this is to be ſaid of other Creatures that have no need of external Heat.

Now to argue on the other ſide, a Man may ſay thus, that whatever we make uſe of ſingly and alone, is more profitable, and that is chiefly beſt, which we apprehend to be ſo by our Reaſon. For what is more uſeful and beneficial to us than Reaſon? And yet brute Animals want it. What then? Is it the leſs profitable, becauſe found out by foreſight of its Utility? And ſince our Diſcourſe has brought us to it, What is more beneficial to Life than Art? Yet Fire inventeth and preſerves all manner of Arts: And therefore *Vulcan* is feign'd to be the Prince of all Artificers.

Man has allow'd him but a little time to live, and as *Ariſto* ſaid, Sleep, like a Toll-gatherer, deprives him of the one half of that too. But for my Part, my Opinion is, that if a Man ſhould wake all Night in the Dark, he would have no Benefit of his Watchfulneſs, unleſs Fire at the ſame time diſcover'd to him the Benefit of Light, and diſplay'd before his Eyes the Difference between Night and Day. Since then there is nothing more beneficial to Man than Life, and that this is prolong'd by Fire, why ſhould not Fire be accounted the moſt beneficial of all things?

Laſtly, That is to be thought moſt profitable, which moſt apparently communicates to the Senſes the Effects of its Temperament. Now do you not find that there is not any of the Senſes, which of it ſelf makes uſe of Moiſture, without an Intermixture of Air and Fire? But every Senſe partakes of Fire, as being that which quickens the vital Faculty; more eſpecially the Sight, which is the moſt acute of all the Senſes in the Body, being a certain fiery Efflux, that gave us our firſt Light into the Belief a Deity, and by Vertue of which we are able, as *Plato* ſays, to conform our Souls to the Motions of the Celeſtial Bodies.

Against Colotes *the Disciple and Favourite of* Epicurus.

Translated out of the Greek *by* A. G. *Gent.*

COlotes, whom *Epicurus* was wont diminutively, and by way of Familiarity or Fondness, to call *Colotaras* and *Colotarion*, compos'd, O *Saturninus*, and publish'd a little Book, which he entitled, *That according to the Opinions of the other Philosophers one cannot so much as live.* Now I suppose, that 'twill not be unpleasant for you to read, when set down in Writing, what came into my Mind to speak against this *Colotes*, since I know you to be a Lover of all elegant and honest Treatises, and particularly of such, as regard the Science of Antiquity, and to esteem the bearing in Memory, and having, as much as possible may be, in hand the Discourses of the ancient Sages, to be the most Royal of all Studies and Exercises.

Not long since therefore, as this Book was reading, *Aristodemus* the *Ægean*, a familiar Friend of Ours (whom you well know to be one of the *Academy*, and though he bears not a * *Ferula*, to be nevertheless a very vehement, not to say frantick, Celebrator of *Plato*'s *Orgia*) did, I know not how, keep himself, contrary to his Custom, very still all the while, and patiently gave ear to it, even to the end. But the Reading was scarce well over, when he said, *Well then, whom shall we cause to rise up and fight against this Man, in Defence of the Philosophers? For I am not of* Nestors *Opinion, who, when the most valiant of those Nine Warriers*

* It was the Custom of those, who celebrated the *Orgia*, or Feasts of *Bacchus*, to carry in their hands a *Ferula*, or piece of Wood, wound about with Ivy and Vine-branches, which they call'd *Thyrsus*, and therewith to strike all such, as coming in their way either oppos'd or refus'd to joyn with them in their furious Revellings. In Allusion to this Custom, *Plutarch* here stiles *Aristodemus*, an exceeding earnest Assertor of *Plato*'s Doctrine, οὐ ναρθηκοφόρον ἀλλ' ἐμμανέστατον ὀργιαστὴν Πλάτωνος.

that preſented themſelves to enter into Combat, was to be be choſen, committed the Election to the Fortune of a Lot. Yet, anſwered I, *you ſee, he ſo diſpos'd himſelf in reference to the Lot, that the Choice might paſs according to the Arbitrement of the wiſeſt Man:*

And th' Lot drawn from the Helmet, as they wiſht,
On *Ajax* fell.——— — — — — —

But yet ſince you command me to make the Election,

How can I think a better Choice to make,
Than the Divine *Ulyſſes*?

Conſider therefore, and be well adviſ'd, in what manner you will chaſtiſe this Man.

But you know, reply'd *Ariſtodemus,* that Plato, *when highly offended with his Boy, tha waited on him, would not himſelf beat him, but requeſted* Speuſippus *to do it for him, ſaying, that he himſelf was angry. As much therefore may I ſay to you:* Take this Fellow to you, and treat him, as you pleaſe: For I am in a fit of Choler.

When therefore all the reſt of the Company deſir'd me to undertake this Office: *I muſt then,* ſaid I, *ſpeak, ſince 'tis your Pleaſure: But I am afraid, that I alſo ſhall ſeem more vehemently, than is fitting, tranſported againſt this Book, in the defending and maintaining* Socrates *againſt the Rudeneſs, Scurrility and Inſolence of this Man, who, becauſe* Socrates *affirm'd himſelf to know nothing certainly, inſtead of Bread, as one would ſay, preſents him Hay, as if he were a Beaſt, and asks him, why he puts Meat into his Mouth, and not into his Ear. And yet perhaps ſome would make but a Laughing-matter of this, conſidering the Mildneſs and Gentleneſs of* Socrates:

But for th' whole o'th *Greeks*,——— ———

that is, of the other Philoſophers, amongſt which are Democritus, Plato, Empedocles, Parmenides *and* Meliſſus, *who have been baſely traduc'd and revil'd by him, 'twere not only a ſhame to be ſilent, but even a Sacriledge, in the leaſt point to forbear or recede from Freedom of Speech in their Behalf, who have advanc'd Philoſophy to that Honour and Reputation, it has gotten.*

And

And our Parents indeed have with the Aſſiſtance of the Gods given us our Life; but to live well, comes to us from Reaſon, which we have learnt from the Philoſophers, favouring Law and Juſtice, and reſtraining our Concupiſcence. Now to live well, is to live ſociably, friendly, temperately and juſtly: Of all which Conditions they leave us not one, who cry out, that Mans Sovereign Good lies in his Belly, and that they would not purchaſe all the Vertues together at the Expence of a crackt Farthing, if Pleaſure were totally and on every ſide remov'd from them. And in their Diſcourſes concerning the Soul and the Gods, they hold, that the Soul periſhes, when it is ſeparated from the Body, and that the Gods concern not themſelves in our Affairs. Thus the *Epicureans* reproach the other Philoſophers, that by their wiſdom they bereave Man of his Life; whilſt the others on the contrary accuſe them of teaching Men to live degenerately, and like Beaſts. Now theſe things are ſcatter'd here and there in the Writings of *Epicurus*, and diſpers'd thro' all his Philoſophy. But this *Colotes* by having extracted from them certain Pieces and Fragments of Diſcourſes, deſtitute of any Arguments whatever, to render them credible and intelligible, has compos'd his Book, being like a Shop or Cabinet of Monſters and Prodigies: As you better know, than any one elſe, becauſe you have always in your Hands the Works of the Antients.

But he ſeems to me like the *Lydian*, to open not only one Gate againſt himſelf, but to involve *Epicurus* alſo in many and thoſe the greateſt Doubts and Difficulties. For he begins with *Democritus*, who receives of him an excellent and worthy Reward for his Inſtruction: It being certain, that *Epicurus* for a long time call'd himſelf a *Demecritean*, which as well others affirm, as *Leonteus*, a principal Diſciple of *Epicurus*, who in a Letter, which he writ to *Lycophron*, ſays, that *Epicurus* honor'd *Democritus*, becauſe he firſt attain'd, tho' a little at a diſtance the right and ſound Underſtanding of the Truth, and that in general all the Treatiſe concerning natural things was call'd *Democritean*, becauſe *Democritus*

was the firſt, who happened upon the Principles, and met with the primitive Foundations of Nature. And *Metrodorus* ſays openly of Philoſophy; *If* Democritus *had not gone before, and taught the way*, Epicurus *had never attain'd to Wiſdom.* Now if it be true, as *Colotes* holds, that to live according to the Opinions of the other Philoſophers, is not to live, *Epicurus* was then a Fool in following *Democritus*, who led him to a Doctrin, which taught him not to live. Now the firſt thing, he lays to his Charge is, that by ſuppoſing *every thing to be no more ſuch than ſuch*, he wholly confounds human Life. But *Democritus* was ſo far from having been of this Opinion, that *Nothing is more ſuch than ſuch*, that he oppos'd *Protagoras* the Philoſopher, who aſſerted it and writ many excellent Arguments, concluding againſt him, which this fine Fellow *Colotes* never ſaw, nor read, nor yet ſo much as dream'd of; but deceiv'd himſelf by miſunderſtanding a Paſſage, which is in his Works, where he determines, that τὸ δὲν is no more than τὸ μὴ δὲν, naming in that Place the Body Δὲν, and the void Μὴ δὲν, and meaning that the Void has its own proper Nature and Subſiſtence, as well as the Body.

But he is of Opinion, that *Nothing is more ſuch than ſuch*, who makes uſe of a Sentence of *Epicurus*, in which he ſays that all the Apprehenſions and Imaginations, given us by the Senſes, are true. For if of two, ſaying, the one, that the Wine is ſowr, and the other, that 'tis ſweet, neither of them ſhall be deceiv'd in their Sentiments, how ſhall the Wine be more ſowr than ſweet? And we may often ſee that ſome Men, uſing one and the ſame Bath, find it to be hot, and others, to be cold? Becauſe thoſe order cold Water to be put into it, as theſe do hot. 'Tis ſaid, that, a certain Lady, going to viſit *Berrhonice*, Wife to King *Deiotarus*, aſſoon as ever they approach'd each other, they both immediately turn'd their Backs, the one, as it ſeem'd, not being able to bear the ſmell of Perfume, nor the other of Butter. If then the Senſe of one is no truer than the Senſe of another, 'tis alſo probable, that Water is no more cold than hot, nor ſweet Ointment or Butter, better or worſe

ſcented

ſcented one than the other. For if any one ſhall ſay, that it ſeems the one to one, and the other to another, he will, before he is aware, affirm, that they are both the one and the other. And as for theſe Symmetries and Proportions of the Pores or little Paſſages in the Organs of the Senſes, about which they talk ſo much, and thoſe different Mixtures of Seeds, which, they ſay, being diſpers'd through all Savours, Odors and Colours, move the Senſes of different Perſons to perceive different Qualities, do they not manifeſtly drive them to this, that *Things are no more one than another*? For to pacifie thoſe, who think, the Senſe is deceiv'd, and lies, becauſe they ſee contrary Events and Paſſions in ſuch as uſe the ſame Objects, and to ſolve this Objection, they teach, that, all things being mix'd and confounded together, and yet one nevertheleſs being more ſuitable and fitting to one, and another to another, there is not made a Contract and Comprehenſion of one and the ſame Quality, nor does the Object equally move all with its Parts; but every one meeting only thoſe, to which it has its Senſe commenſurate and proportion'd, they are too blame ſo obſtinately to inſiſt, that a thing is either colour'd or not colour'd, white, or not white, thinking to eſtabliſh their own Senſes by deſtroying thoſe of others; whereas they ought neither to combat the Senſes, becauſe they all touch ſome Quality, each one drawing from this confus'd Mixture, as from a living and large Fountain, what is ſuitable and convenient; nor to pronounce of the whole, by touching only the Parts, nor to think, that all ought to be affected after one and the ſame manner, ſeeing that one is affected by one Quality and Faculty of it, and another by another. Are we then to ſeek, who thoſe Men are, which bring in this Opinion, that *Things are not more one than another?* Or are thoſe they, who hold, that every ſenſible thing is a Mixture, compos'd of all ſorts of Qualities, like a Wind-Inſtrument, fitted for all ſorts of Tunes? Now they confeſs, that all their Rules are loſt, and their Faculty of judging quite gone, if they admit any ſenſible Object,

that is pure and ſimple, and do not make each one thing to be many.

See now to this purpoſe, what Diſcourſe and Debate *Epicurus* makes *Polyænus* to have with him in his Banquet concerning the Heat of Wine: For when he ask'd, *Do you, Oh* Epicurus *ſay, that Wine does not heat?* Some one anſwer'd: *'Tis not univerſally to be affirm'd, that Wine Heats.* And a little after: *For Wine ſeems not to be univerſally an Heater; but ſuch a Quantity may be ſaid to heat ſuch a Perſon.* And again ſubjoyning the Cauſe, to wit, the Compreſſions and Diſſeminations of the *Atoms*, and having alledg'd their Commixtures and Conjunctions with others, when the Wine comes to be mingled in the Body, he adds this Concluſion: *'Tis not univerſally to be ſaid, that Wine is endu'd with a Faculty of Heating; but that ſuch a Quantity may heat ſuch a Nature, and ſo diſpos'd; but that ſuch a Quantity to ſuch a Nature is cooling. For in ſuch a Maſs there are ſome Natures and Complexions, of which Cold might be compos'd, as if it were neceſſary, that being joyn'd with others, they ſhould yield a refrigerative Vertue. Wherefore ſome are deceiv'd, who ſay, that Wine is univerſally an Heater, and others, that 'tis univerſally a Cooler.* He then, who ſays, that many are deceiv'd, and err, in holding that, which is not, to be heating, and that, which is cold, to be cooling, is himſelf in an Error, if he does not perceive it to follow from his Aſſertion, that *one thing is not more ſuch than another.* He farther adds afterwards, that oftentimes Wine, entring into a Body, brings with it thither neither a calefying nor refrigerating Vertue, but, the Maſs of the Body being agitated and diſturb'd, and a Tranſpoſition made of the Parts, the Heat-effecting Atoms, being aſſembled together, do by their Multitude cauſe an Heat and Inflammation in the Body; and ſometimes on the contrary diſ-aſſembling themſelves, cauſe a Refrigeration.

But it is yet moreover wholly evident, that he has proceeded ſo far, as to ſay, that of all thoſe things, which are call'd and eſteem'd Bitter, Sweet, Purging, Penetrative, and Luminous, not any one of them has

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an entire and perfect Quality to produce ſuch Effects nor to do, rather than to ſuffer, when they are in the Bodies, but are there ſuſceptible of various Temperatures and Differences. For *Epicurus* himſelf, affirming, that Colorus are not connatural to the Body, but are engendred there according to certain Situations and Poſitions with reſpect to the Sight of Man, ſays: *For this Reaſon the Body is no more colour'd, than deſtitute of Colour.* And a little above he writes thus word for word: *But without this Part, I know not, how a Man may ſay, that thoſe Bodies, which are in the Dark, have Color; altho very often, an Air equally dark being ſpred about them, ſome diſtinguiſh Diverſities of Colours, others perceive them not through the weakneſs of their ſight: and moreover going into a dark Houſe or Room, we at our firſt entrance ſee no Difference of Colour, but, after we have ſtay'd there a while, we do. Wherefore we are to ſay, that every Body is not more colour'd, than not colour'd.* Now, if Colour is a Relative, and has its Being in regard to ſomething elſe, ſo alſo then is White, and ſo likewiſe Blew: and if Colours are ſo, ſo alſo are Sweet and Bitter: So that it may truly be affirm'd of every Quality, that *it is not rather ſuch than ſuch*: For to thoſe, who are in ſuch manner diſpos'd, they will be ſuch; but to thoſe, who are not ſo diſpos'd, they will alſo not be ſueh. *Colotes* therefore has bedaſh'd and beſpatter'd himſelf and his Maſter with that Dirt, in which, he ſays, thoſe lye, who maintain, that *things are not rather ſuch than ſuch.*

But is it in this alone, that this excellent Man ſhews himſelf

> *To others a Phyſician, whilſt himſelf*
> *Is full of Ulcers?* ——

No indeed; but yet much farther in his ſecond Reprehenſion he, without any way minding it, drives *Epicurus* and *Democritus* out of this Life. For he affirms *Democritus* to have ſaid, that the Atoms are to the Senſes Colour by a certain Law, or Ordinance, that they are by the ſame Law Sweetneſs, and by the ſame Law Concretion: And that he, who uſes this Reaſon [illegible]

perſiſts in this Opinion, cannot himſelf imagine whether he is living or dead. I know not how to contradict this Diſcourſe; but this I can boldly affirm, that this is as inſeparable from the Sentences and Doctrins of *Epicurus*, as, they ſay, Figure and Weight are from Atoms. For what is it, that *Democritus* ſays? That there are Subſtances, in number infinite, called *Atoms*, becauſe they cannot be divided, yet different without any Quality, which move, being diſpers'd here and there, in the infinit Voidneſs, and that when they approach one another, or meet and are conjoin'd, that of ſuch Maſſes, thus heap'd together, one appears Water, another Fire, another a Plant, another a Man: and that all theſe are *Atoms* ſtill, call'd by him *Ideas* or Forms, and that there is nothing elſe: For there can be no Generation; and of thoſe things, which are, not any one can become Nothing: becauſe, theſe Atoms are ſo firm, that they can neither be chang'd, alter, nor ſuffer. Wherefore there cannot be made Colour of thoſe things, which are without Colour, nor Nature or Soul of thoſe things, which are without Quality and impoſſible. *Democritus* then is to be blam'd, not for confeſſing thoſe things, that happen upon his Principles, but for ſuppoſing Principles, upon which ſuch things happen. For he ſhould not have ſuppos'd immutable Principles; or having ſuppos'd them, not have ſeen, that the Generation of all Quality is taken away; but having ſeen the Abſurdity, to deny it is moſt impudent. But *Epicurus* ſays, that he ſuppoſes the ſame Principles with *Democritus*, but that he ſays not, that Colour, Sweet, White, and other Qualities, are by Law and Ordinance. If therefore not to ſay is this, does he not confeſs, that he does ſomething of what he is wont to do? For it is, as when taking away Divine Providence, he nevertheleſs ſays, that he leaves Piety and Devotion towards the Gods; and when chooſing Friendſhip for the ſake of Pleaſure, that he ſuffers moſt grievous Pains for his Friends; and ſuppoſing the Univerſe to be infinit, that he nevertheleſs takes not away High and Low. But it is *** Indeed having taken the Cup, one may drink

drink what he pleaſes, and return the Reſt. But in Reaſoning one ought chiefly to remember this wiſe Apoththegm, That of Principles, which are not neceſſary, the Ends and Conſequences are neceſſary. It was not then neceſſary for him to ſuppoſe, or, to ſay better, to ſteal from *Democritus*, that Atoms are the Principles of the Univerſe; but having ſuppos'd this Doctrine, and having pleas'd and glorifi'd himſelf in the firſt probable and ſpecious Appearances of it, he muſt afterwards alſo ſwallow that, which is troubleſome in it, or muſt ſhew, how Bodies, which have not any Quality, can bring all ſorts of Qualities to others only by their Meetings and joyning together. As, to take that which comes next to hand, whence does that, which we call Heat, proceed, and how is it engendred in the *Atoms*, if they neither had Heat, when they came, nor are become hot, after their being joyn'd together? For the one preſuppoſes, that they had ſome Quality, and the other, that they were fit to receive it. And you affirm, that neither the one nor the other muſt be ſaid to agree to *Atoms*, becauſe they are incorruptible. How then? Do not *Plato*, *Ariſtotle* and *Xenocrates* produce Gold, from that which is not Gold, and Stone, from that which is not Stone, and many other things from the four firſt ſimple Bodies? Yes indeed; but with thoſe Bodies immediately concur alſo the Principles for the Generation of every thing, bringing with them great Contributions; that is, the firſt Qualities, which are in them; then, when they come to aſſemble and joyn in one, the Dry with the Moiſt, the Cold with the Hot, and the Solid with the Soft, that is, active Bodies with ſuch, as are fit to ſuffer and receive every Alteration and Change, then is Generation wrought by paſſing from one Temperature to another. Whereas the Atom, being alone, is depriv'd and deſtitute of all Quality and Generative Faculty, and when it comes to meet with the others, it can make only a Noiſe and Sound, becauſe of its Hardneſs and Firmneſs, and not any other Accident. For they always ſtrike and are ſtricken, not being able by

this means to compoſe or make an Animal, a Soul, or a Nature, nay, not ſo much as a Maſs or Heap of themſelves: For that as they beat upon one another, ſo they fly back again aſunder.

But *Colotes*, as if he were ſpeaking to ſome ignorant and unletter'd King, again attacks *Empedocles* for breathing forth theſe Verſes:

I've one thing more to ſay: 'Mongſt Mortals there
No Nature is, nor that grim thing, Men fear
So much, call'd Death: There only happens firſt
A Mixture, and mixt things aſunder burſt
Again, when them Diſunion does befal:
And this is that, which Men do Natural call.

For my Part, I do not ſee, how this is repugnant and contrary to Life or Living, eſpecially amongſt thoſe, who hold, that there is no Generation of that which is not, nor Corruption of that which is; but that the Aſſembling and Union of the things which are, is call'd Generation, and their Diſſolution and Diſunion nam'd Corruption and Death. For that he took Nature for Generation, and that this is his Meaning, he has himſelf declar'd, when he oppos'd Nature to Death: And, if they neither live, nor can live, who place Generation in Union, and Death in Diſunion, What elſe do theſe *Epicureans?* Yet *Empedocles*, gluing, as it were, and conjoining the Elements together by Heats, Softneſſes and Humidities, gives them in ſome ſort a Mixtion and Unitive Compoſition; but theſe Men, who hunt and drive together the *Atoms*, which they affirm to be immutable and impaſſible, compoſe nothing, proceeding from them, but indeed make many and continual Percuſſions of them.

For the Interlacement, hindring the Diſſolution, more and more augments the Colliſion, and Concuſſion; ſo that there is neither Mixtion, nor Adhæſion and Conglutination, but only a Combuſtion and Combat, which according to them, is call'd Generation. And if the *Atoms* do now recoil by reaſon of the Shock they have given, and then return again, after the Blow

is paſt, they are above double the time abſent from one another, without either touching or approaching, ſo as nothing can be made of them, nor even ſo much as a Body without a Soul. But as for Senſe, Soul, Underſtanding and Prudence, there is not any Man, who can in the leaſt conceive or imagin, how 'tis poſſible, they ſhould be made in a *Voidneſs* and of *Atoms*, which neither when ſeparate and apart, have any Quality; nor any Paſſion or Alteration, when they are aſſembled and joyn'd together, eſpecially, ſeeing this their Meeting together is not an incorporation, or Congreſs, making a Mixture, or Coalition, but rather Percuſſions and Repercuſſions. ſo that, according to the Doctrin of theſe People, Life is taken away, and the Being of an Animal deny'd, ſince they ſuppoſe Principles, void, impaſſible and indiviſible, and ſuch, as cannot admit or receive any Mixture or Incorporation whatever. How then is it, that they admit and allow Nature, Soul and Living Creature; Even in the ſame manner, as they do an Oath, Prayer and Sacrifice, and the Adoration of the Gods. Thus as they adore by Word and Mouth, only naming and feigning that, which by their Principles they totally take away, and aboliſh; ſo they call that, which is born, Nature; and that, which is engendred, Generation; as thoſe, who ordinarily call the Wood, it ſelf, the Framing and Faſhioning of the Wood and the Voices that accord and ſound together, Symphony. Whence then came it into his Mind, to object theſe Words againſt *Empedocles*. *Why*, ſays he, *do we tire our ſelves in taking ſuch care of our ſelves, in deſiring and longing after certain things, and ſhunning and avoiding others? For we neither are our ſelves, nor do we live by making uſe of others.* But be of good Cheer, my dear and ſweet Friend *Colotarion*, may one perhaps ſay to him, there is none who hinders you from taking care Care of your ſelf, by teaching that the Nature of *Colotes* is nothing elſe, but *Colotes* himſelf; or that forbids you to make uſe of things (now things with you are Pleaſures) by ſhewing, that there is not the Nature of Tarts and Marchpanes of

Sweet Odors, or Venereal Delights; but there are Tarts and Marchpanes, Perfumes and Women. For neither does the Grammarian, who ſays, that the Strength of *Hercules* is *Hercules* himſelf, deny the Being of *Hercules*, nor do thoſe, who ſay, that Symphonies and Opinions are but bare Prolations, affirm, that there are neither Sounds nor Opinions; ſince alſo there are ſome, who, taking away the Soul and Prudence, do not yet ſeem to take away either Living, or being Prudent.

And when *Epicurus* ſays, that the Nature of things are Bodies and their Place, do we ſo comprehend him, as if he means, that Nature were ſomething elſe than the things, which are; or as if he inſinuated, that it is the things themſelves, which are, and nothing elſe? As, to wit, he is wont to call Voidneſs it ſelf the Nature of Voidneſs; and the Univerſe by *Jupiter*, the Nature of the Univerſe. And if any one ſhould thus queſtion him; *What ſay'ſt thou*, Epicurus, *that this is Voidneſs, and that the Nature of Voidneſs? No by* Jupiter, would he anſwer: *But this Communication of Names, one for another, is it in uſe by Law and Cuſtom, or is it not?* I grant it is. Now what has *Empedocles* done elſe, but taught, that Nature is nothing elſe, ſave that which is born; and Death no other thing but that which dies? But as the Poets very often, forming at it were an Image, ſay thus in figurative Language.

Strife, Tumult, Noiſe, plac'd by ſome angry God,
Miſchief and Malice there had their abode;

So do many attribute Generation and Corruption to things that are contracted together and diſſolv'd. But ſo far has he been from ſtirring, and taking away that which is, or contradicting that which evidently appears, that he caſts not ſo much as one ſingle word out of the accuſtom'd uſe; but taking away all figurative Fraud that might hurt or endamage things, he again reſtor'd the ordinary and uſeful ſignification to words in theſe Verſes.

When from mix'd Elements we ſometimes ſee
A Man produc'd, ſometimes a Beaſt, a Tree,
Or Bird, this Birth and Geniture we name
But Death, when this ſo well-compacted Frame
And Juncture is diſſolv'd.——

And yet I my ſelf ſay, that *Colotes*, tho' he alledg'd theſe Verſes, did not underſtand that *Empedocles* took not away Men, Beaſts, Trees, or Birds, which he affirm'd to be compos'd of the Elements mix'd together; and that by teaching how much they are deceiv'd, who call this Compoſition Nature and Life, and this Diſſolution unhappy Deſtruction and miſerable Death, he did not abrogate the uſing of the cuſtomary Expreſſions in this reſpect. And to me indeed *Empedocles* ſeems not to have aim'd in this place at the diſturbing the common manner of uſing and pronouncing theſe Words; but that he really, as it has been ſaid, had a Controverſie about Generation from things that have no Being, which ſome call Nature. Which he manifeſtly ſhews by theſe Verſes;

Fools, and of little Thought, we well may deem
Thoſe, who ſo ſilly are, as to eſteem,
That what ne'er was, may now engendred be,
And that what is, may periſh utterly.

For theſe are the Words of one, who cries loud enough to thoſe, which have Ears, that he takes not away Generation, but Procreation from nothing, nor Corruption, but total Deſtruction, that is, Reduction to nothing. For to him, who would not ſo ſavagely and fooliſhly, but more gently calumniate, the following Verſes might give a colourable occaſion of charging *Empedocles* with the contrary, when he ſays;

No prudent Man can e'er into his Mind
Admit, that, whilſt Men, living here on Earth,
(Which only Life they call) both Fortunes find.
They Being have; but that before the Birth
They nothing were, nor ſhall be, when once dead.

For theſe are not the Expreſſions of a Man, who denies thoſe that are born, to be; but rather of him, who holds thoſe to be, that are not yet born, or that are already dead. And *Colotes* alſo does not altogether accuſe him of this, but ſays, that according to his Opinion, we ſhall never be ſick, never wounded. But how is it poſſible, that he, who affirms Men to have Being both before their Life, and after their Death, and during their Life *to find both Fortunes*, or to be accompany'd both by Good and Evil, ſhould not leave them the Power to ſuffer? Who then are they, O *Colotes*, that are endu'd with this Privilege, never to be wounded, never to be ſick? Even you your ſelves, who are compos'd of Atoms and Voidneſs, neither of which you ſay has any Senſe. Now there is no great hurt in this, but the worſt is, You have nothing left, that can cauſe you Pleaſure, ſeeing an Atom is not capable to receive thoſe things, which are to effect it, and Voidneſs cannot be affected by them.

But becauſe *Colotes* would, immediately after *Democritus*, ſeem to enter and bury *Parmenides*, and I have paſs'd over, and a little poſtpon'd his Defence, to bring in between them that of *Empedocles*, as ſeeming to be more coherent and conſequent to the firſt Reprehenſions, let us now return to *Parmenides*. Him then does *Colotes* accuſe of having broach'd and ſet abroad certain ſhameful and villanous Sophiſtries; and yet by theſe his Sophiſms he has neither rendred Friendſhip leſs honourable, nor Voluptuouſneſs or the deſire of Pleaſures more audacious and unbridled. He has not taken from Honeſty its attractive Property, or its being venerable or recommendable of it ſelf; nor has he diſturb'd the Opinions we ought to have of the Gods. And I do not ſee, how by his ſaying, that *All* [or the Univerſe] is *One*, he hinders or obſtructs our Living. For when *Epicurus* himſelf ſays, that *All* is infinite, that 'tis neither engendred nor periſhable, that it can neither increaſe nor be diminiſh'd, he ſpeaks of the Univerſe, as of one only thing. And having in the beginning of his Treatiſe concerning this Matter, ſaid, that the Nature of thoſe

things which have Being, conſiſts of thoſe ſmall indiviſible Bodies, which he calls *Atoms*; and of *Voidneſs*, he makes a Diviſion as it were of one thing into two Parts; one of which has in reality no Subſiſtence, being, as your ſelves term it, impalpable, void and incorporeal; ſo that by this means, even with you alſo *All* comes to be *One*, unleſs you deſire in ſpeaking of *Voidneſs*, to uſe words empty and *void* of Senſe, and to combat the Ancients, as if you were fighting againſt a Shadow.

But theſe Atomical Bodies, you will ſay, are according to the Opinion of *Epicurus*, infinite in number, and every thing which appears to us, is compos'd of them. See now therefore, what Principles of Generation you ſuppoſe *Infinity* and *Voidneſs*; one of which, to wit *Voidneſs*, is unactive, impaſſible and incorporeal; the other, to wit, *Infinity*, is diſorderly, unreaſonable, diſſolving and confounding it ſelf, becauſe it cannot for its Multitude, be contain'd, circumſcrib'd, or limited. But *Parmenides* has neither taken away Fire, nor Water, nor Rocks and Precipices, nor yet Cities, as *Colotes* ſays, which are built and inhabited as well in *Europe* as in *Aſia*; ſince he has both made *Jupiter* the World, and mixing the Elements, to wit, *Light* and *Dark*, does of them and by them compoſe and finiſh all things, that are to be ſeen in the World. For he has written very largely of the Earth, Heaven, Sun, Moon and Stars, and has ſpoken of the Generation of Man, and being, as he was, an ancient Author in Phyſiology, and one, who in writing deliver'd his own, and not anothers Doctrine, he has paſs'd over none of the principal thing in Nature, of which he has not diſtinctly treated. Moreover he, firſt before all others, even before *Socrates* himſelf, underſtood, that in Nature there is one Part ſubject to Opinion, and another ſubject to Intelligence. As for that, which is *Opinable*, or ſubject to Opinion, it is always unconſtant, wandring, and carri'd away with ſeveral Paſſions and Changes, liable to Diminution and Increaſe, and to be variouſly

* For διάκοσμον I read Δία κοσμὸν.

variouſly diſpos'd, not always after one manner, nor to the ſame. But as to the *Intelligible* Part, it is quite of another kind,

Conſtant, entire, and ſtill ingenerable,

as himſelf ſays, always like to it ſelf, and perdurable in its Being.

Here *Colotes*, Sycophant like, catching at his Expreſſions, and drawing the Diſcourſe from Things to Words, flatly affirms, that *Parmenides* in one word takes away and ſubverts all things by ſuppoſing *Ens*, or *That, which is*, to be *One*. But on the contrary, he takes away neither the one nor the other Part of Nature; but rendring to each of them what belongs to it, and is convenient for it, places the *Intelligible* in the *Idea* of *One* and of *That, which is*, Calling it *Ens*, or *That, which is*, becauſe it is Eternal and Incorruptible; and *One*, becauſe it is always like it ſelf, and admits no Diverſity. And as for that Part, which is *Senſible*, he places it in the Rank of Uncertain, Diſorderly, and always Moving: Of which two Parts, we may ſee the diſtinct Judgment in the Soul:

One certain Truth and ſincere Knowledge is,

as regarding that which is intelligible, and always alike and of the ſame ſort.

The other does on Mens Opinions reſt,
Which breed no true Belief within our Breaſt:

Becauſe it is converſant in things, which receive all ſorts of Changes, Paſſions and Inequalities. Now how he could have left *Senſe* and *Opinion*, if he had not alſo left *Senſible* & *Opinable*, 'tis impoſſible for any Man to ſay. But becauſe to *That, which* truly *is*, it appertains to continue in its Being, and becauſe *Senſible* things ſometimes are, ſometimes are not, continually paſſing from one Being to another, and perpetually changing their State, he thought they requir'd ſome other Name than that of *Entia*, or *Things, which* always *are*. This Speech therefore concerning *Ens*; or *That, which is*, that it ſhould be but one, is not to take away the Plurality of *Senſible* things, but to ſhew,

how they differ from that, which is *Intelligible*. Which difference *Plato* in his Treatise of *Ideas* more fully declaring, has thereby afforded *Colotes* an Opportunity of Caviling; and therefore it seems unreasonable to me to take next into our Consideration, as it were all in a Train, what he has also said against him.

But first let us contemplate a little the Diligence together with the manifold and profound Knowledge of this our Philosopher, who says, that *Aristotle*, *Xenocrates*, *Theophrastus*, and all the *Peripatetics* have follow'd these Doctrins of *Plato*. For in what Corner of the uninhabitable World * have you, O *Colotes*, written your Book, that, composing all these Accusations against such Personages, you shall never have lighted upon their Works, nor have taken into your Hands the Books of *Aristotle* concerning *Heaven* and *the Soul*, nor those of *Theophrastus* against the *Naturalists* nor the *Zoroastres* of *Heraclitus*, nor his Books of *Hell*, nor that of *Natural Doubts and Difficulties*, nor the Book of *Dicaarchus* concerning *the Soul*; in all which Books they are in the highest degree contradictory and repugnant to *Plato* about the principal and greatest Points of Natural Philosophy? Nay, *Strato* himself, the very Head and Prince of the other *Peripatetics*, agrees not in many things with *Aristotle*, and holds Opinions altogether contrary to *Plato*, concerning Motion, the Understanding, the Soul and Generation. In fine, he says, that the World is not an Animal, and that what is according to Nature follows what is according to Fortune; for that Chance gave the Beginning, and so every one of the Natural Effects was afterwards finish'd.

* For ἔγραφεν, I read ἔγραφεε.

Now as to the *Ideas*, for which he quarrels with *Plato*, *Aristotle*, by moving this matter at every turn, and alledging all manner of Doubts concerning them, in his *Ethics*, in his *Physics*; and in his *Exoterical Dialogues*, seem to some rather obstinately, than philosophically, to have disputed against these Doctrines, as having propos'd to himself the debasing and undervaluing of *Plato*'s Philosophy; so far he was from following

lowing it. What an impudent raſhneſs then is this, that having neither ſeen nor underſtood, what theſe Perſons have written, and what were their Opinions, he ſhould go and deviſe ſuch things, as they never imagin'd; and perſwading himſelf that he reprehends and refutes others, he ſhould produce a Proof written with his own hand, arguing and convincing himſelf of Ignorance, Licentiouſneſs and ſhameful Impudence, in ſaying, that thoſe, who contradict *Plato*, agree with him, and that thoſe, who oppoſe him, follow him? *Plato*, ſays he, writes, that Horſes are in vain by us eſteem'd Horſes, and likewiſe Men. And in which of *Plato*'s Commentaries has he found this hidden? For as to us we read in all his Books, that Horſes are Horſes, that Men are Men, and that Fire is by him eſteem'd Fire, becauſe he holds, that every one of theſe things is ſenſible and ſubject to Opinion. But this fine fellow *Colotes*, in whom there is not the leaſt Grain of Philoſophy, apprehends it to be one and the ſame thing, to ſay, Man is not, and Man is a *Non ens*, or *That, which has no Being*.

Now to *Plato* there ſeems to be a wonderful great difference between *Not to be at all*, and to be a *Non Ens*, or *That, which has no being*; becauſe the firſt imports an Annihilation and Aboliſhment of all Subſtance; and the others ſhews the Diverſity, there is between that, which is participated, and that, which participates. Which Diverſity thoſe, who are come after, have only diſtinguiſht into the Difference of *Genus*, and *Species*, and certain common and proper Qualities or Accidents, as they are call'd, but aſcended no higher, falling into more Logical Doubts and Difficulties. Now there is the ſame Proportion between that, which is participated, and that, which participates, as there is between the Cauſe and the Matter, the Original and the Image, the Faculty and the Paſſion. Wherein that, which is by it ſelf, and always the ſame, principally differs from that, which is by another, and never in one and the ſame manner; becauſe the one never was, nor ever ſhall be non-exiſtent, and is there-

fore

fore totally and eſſentially an *Ens*, or a *Thing, that has Being*, but the other has not that very Being which it has not of it ſelf, but happens to take and participate from another, firm and conſtant, but goes out of it by its Imbecility, the Matter always gliding and ſliding about the Form, and receiving ſeveral Paſſions and Changes towards the Image of the Subſtance, ſo that it is continually moving and ſhaking. As therefore he, who ſays, that the Image of *Plato* is not *Plato*, takes not away the Senſe and Subſtance of the Image, but ſhews the Difference of that, which is ſomething of it ſelf, from that, which is in regard of it: So neither do they take away the Nature, Uſe, or Senſe of Men, who affirm, that every one of us is by participating the *Idea* of a certain common Subſtance become the Image of that, which affords Similitude to our Generation. For neither does he, who ſays, that a red-hot Iron is not Fire, or the Moon the Sun, but, as *Parmenides* has it.

A Torch, which round the Earth by Night
Does bear about a borrow'd Light.

take away therefore the Uſe of Iron, or the Nature of the Moon. But if he ſhould deny it to be a Body, or affirm, that it is not illuminated, he would then contradict the Senſes, as one, who admitted neither Body, Animal, Generation nor Senſe. But he, who by his Opinion imagins, that theſe things ſubſiſt only by Participation, and how far remote and diſtant they are from that, which always is, and which communicates to them their Being, does not reject the *Senſible*, but affirms, that the *Intelligible* is; nor does he take away and aboliſh the Paſſions, which are wrought, and appear in us; but ſhews to thoſe, who follow him, that there are other things, firmer and more ſtable than theſe in reſpect of their Eſſence, becauſe they are neither engendred, nor periſh, nor ſuffer any thing; and, more purely touching the Difference, teaches to expreſs it by the Names, calling theſe *Entia*, or *Things, that have Being*; and thoſe *Fientia*, or *Things engendred*. And the ſame alſo uſually befals the Moderns; for they deprive

prive many, and thoſe great things, of the Apellation of *Ens* or Being; ſuch as are Voidneſs, Time, Place and ſimply the whole entire *Genus* of things ſpoken, in which are compris'd all things true. For theſe things, they ſay, are not *Entia*, but ſomethings, and they perpetually make uſe of them in their Philoſophy, as of things having ſubſiſtence and Exiſtence.

But I would willingly ask this our Fault-finder, whether themſelves do not in their Affairs perceive this Difference, by which ſome things are permanent and immutable in their Subſtances, as they ſay of their Atoms, that they are at all times and continually after one and the ſame manner, becauſe of their Impaſſibility and Hardneſs; but that the things, compounded of them, are fluxible, changeable, breeding and periſhing; forasmuch as infinit Images are always departing and going from them; and infinit others, as 'tis probable, repair to them from the ambient Air, filling up what was diminiſh'd from the Maſs, which is much diverſify'd and tranſvaſated, as it were, by this Change, ſince thoſe Atoms, which are in the very Bottom of the ſaid Maſs, can never ceaſe ſtirring and reciprocally beating upon one another, as they themſelves affirm. There is then in things ſuch a Diverſity of Subſtance. But *Epicurus* is in this wiſer and more learned than *Plato*, that he calls them all equally *Entia*, or *Things, that have Being*, to wit, the impalpable Voidneſs, the ſolid and reſiſting Body, the Principles, and the things compos'd of them; and yet thinks, that the Eternal does not ſo much as participate of the common Subſtance with that, which is generated, the immortal with the Corruptible, and the Natures, that are impaſſible, perdurable, unchangeable, and can never fall from their Being, with thoſe, which have their Eſſence in ſuffering and changing, and can never continue in one and the ſame State. But though *Plato* had with all the Juſtneſs imaginable deſerv'd to have been condemn'd for having offended in this, yet ſhould he have been ſentenc'd by theſe Gentlemen, who ſpeak more elegantly and correctly, only as having confounded the Terms, and us'd improper

improper Expreſſions; and not as having taken away the things, and driven Life from us, becauſe he nam'd them *Fientia* or *Things engendred*, and not *Entia*, or *Things, that have Being* as theſe Men do.

But becauſe we have paſt over *Socrates*, who ſhould have come next after *Parmenides*, we muſt now turn back our Diſcourſe to him. Him therefore has *Colotes* begun at the very firſt to remove, as the common Proverb has it, from the ſacred Line, and having mention'd how *Chærephon* brought from *Delphos* an Oracle, well known to us all, concerning *Socrates*, he ſays thus: *Now as to this Narration of* Chærephon's, *becauſe it is odious, full of Untruth, and ſophiſtical, we will over paſs it.* *Plato* then, that I may ſay nothing of others, is alſo odious, who has commited it to writing; and the *Lacedæmonians* are yet more odious, who reſerve that of *Lycurgus* amongſt their moſt ancient and moſt authentick Inſcriptions. The Oracle alſo of *Themiſtocles*, by which he perſwaded the *Athenians* to quit their Town, and in a Naval Fight defeated the barbarous *Xerexes*, was a ſophiſtical Fiction. Odious alſo were all the ancient Legiſlators and Founders of *Greece*, who eſtabliſh'd the moſt part of their Temples, Sacrifices and ſolemn Feſtivals by the anſwer of the *Pythian* Oracle. But if the Oracle, brought from *Delphos* concerning *Socrates*, a Man raviſh'd with a divine Zeal to Vertue, by which he is ſtil'd and declar'd Wiſe, is odious, fictitious and ſophiſtical, by what Name ſhall we call your Cries, Noiſes and Shouts, your Applauſes, Adorations and Canonizations, with which you extol, and celebrate him, who incites and exhorts you to frequent and continual Pleaſures? For thus has he written in his Epiſtle to *Anaxarchus*: *I for my part incite and call you to continual Pleaſures, and not to vain and empty Vertues, which have nothing but turbulent Hopes of uncertain Fruits.* And yet *Metrodorus*, writing to *Timarchus*, ſays, *Let us do ſome extraordinarily excellent thing, not ſuffering our ſelves to be plung'd in reciprocal Affections, but retiring from this low, and terreſtrial Life and elevating our ſelves to the truly holy and divinely reveal'd Ceremonies and Myſteries of* Epicurus.

And even *Colotes* himſelf, hearing one day *Epicurus*, as he was diſcourſing of natural things, fell ſuddenly at his Feet, and embrac'd his Knees, as *Epicurus* himſelf, glorying in it, thus writes: *For as if you had ador'd, what we were then ſaying, you were ſuddenly taken with a Deſire, proceeding not from any natural Cauſe, to come to us, proſtrate your ſelf on the Ground, embrace our Knees, and uſe all thoſe Geſtures to us, which are ordinarily practis'd by thoſe, who adore and pray to the Gods: ſo that you made us alſo,* ſays he, *reciprocally ſanctify and adore you.* Thoſe, by *Jupiter*, well deſerve to be pardon'd, who ſay, they would willingly give any Money for a Picture, in which ſhould be preſented to the life this fine ſtory of one, lying proſtrate at the Knees, and embracing the Legs of another, who mutually again adores him, and makes his devout Pray'rs to him. Nevertheleſs this devout Service, how well ſoever it was order'd and compos'd by *Colotes*, received not the condign Fruit, he expected; for he was not order'd and compos'd by *Colotes*, receiv'd not the condign Fruit, he expected: For he was not declar'd wiſe; but it was only ſaid to him: *Go thy ways, and walk immortal and underſtand, that we alſo are in like manner immortal.* Theſe Men, knowing well in their Conſciences, that they have us'd ſuch fooliſh Speeches, have had ſuch Motions, and ſuch Paſſions, dare nevertheleſs call others odious. And *Colotes*, truly having ſhewn us theſe fine Firſt-fruits, and wiſe Poſitions touching the Natural Senſes, That we eat Meat, and not Hay or Forage, and that when Rivers are deep and great, we paſs them in Boats, but when ſhallow and eaſily fordable on foot, cries out, *You uſe vain and arrogant Speeches, O* Socrates: *You ſay one thing to thoſe, who come to diſcourſe with you, and practiſe another.* Now I would fain know, what theſe vain and arrogant Speeches of *Socrates* were, ſince he ordinarily ſaid, that he knew nothing, that he was always learning, and that he went enquiring and ſearching after the Truth. But if, O *Colotes*, you had hapned on ſuch Expreſſions of *Socrates*, as are thoſe, which *Epicurus* writ to *Idomœneus*, *Send me then the Firſt-fruits for the Entertainment of our ſacred Body, for*

our

our ſelf and for our Children; for ſo it comes upon me to ſpeak: What more arrogant and inſolent Words could you have us'd? And yet that *Socrates* ſpake otherwiſe, than he liv'd, you have wonderful Proofs in his Geſts at *Delium*, or *Potidæa*, in his Behavior during the time of the thirty Tyrants, towards *Archelaus*, towards the People of *Athens*, in his Poverty, and in his Death. For are not theſe things beſeeming and anſwerable to the Doctrin of *Socrates*? They would indeed, good Sir, have been indubitable Teſtimonies, to ſhew, that he acted otherwiſe, than he taught, if having propos'd Pleaſure for the end of Life, he had led ſuch a Life, as this. Thus much for the Calumnies, he has uttered againſt *Socrates*.

Colotes beſides perceives not, that he is himſelf found ſtain'd with the ſame Crime of Impiety, he objects againſt *Socrates*. For this is one of the Sentences and Propoſitions of *Epicurus*, That none, but the wiſe Man, ought irrevocably and unchangeably to be perſwaded of any thing. Since then *Colotes*, even after thoſe Adorations, he perform'd in *Epicurus*, became not one of the Sages, let him firſt make theſe Queſtions, and Interrogatories his own: How is it, that being hungry, he eats Meat, and not Hay, and that he puts a Robe about his Body, and not about a Pillar, ſince he is not indubitably perſwaded, either that a Robe is a Robe, or that Meat is Meat? But if he not only does theſe things, but alſo paſſes not over Rivers, when they are great and high, on foot, and flies from Wolves and Serpents, not being irrevocably perſwaded, that any of theſe things are ſuch, as it ſeems, but doing every thing according to what appears to him: the Opinion of *Socrates* concerning the Senſes, was then no Obſtacle to him, but that he might in like manner make uſe of things, as they appear'd to him. For neither did Bread appear Bread, nor Hay appear Hay to *Colotes*, becauſe he had read thoſe holy Rules of *Epicurus*, which came down from Heaven; nor yet did *Socrates* thro' his vanity take a Fancy, that Hay was Bread, and Bread Hay: For theſe wiſe Men uſe better Opinions

and

and Reaſons, than we. But to have Senſe, and to receive an Impreſſion in the Imagination of things, as they appear, is common as well to the ignorant, as to the wiſe, as proceeding from Cauſes, where there needs not the Diſcourſe of Reaſon. And the Propoſition, which affirms, that the natural Senſes are not perfect, nor certain enough to cauſe an entire Belief, hinders not, that every thing may appear to us; but leaving us to make uſe of our Senſes in our Actions, according to that which appears, permits us not ſo to give Credit to them, as if they were exactly true, and without Error: for 'tis ſufficient, that in what is neceſſary and commodious for uſe, there is nothing better. But as for the Science both of Knowledge and Perfection, which the Soul of a Philoſopher deſires to have concerning every thing, the Senſes have it not. But as to this *Colotes* will farther give us occaſion to ſpeak of it hereafter, for he brings this Objection againſt ſeveral others.

Furthermore, whereas he profuſely derides and deſpiſes *Socrates* for asking, what Man is, and in a youthful Bravery, as he terms it, affirming, that he was ignorant of it; 'tis manifeſt, that he himſelf, who ſcoffs at it, never ſo much as thought of this matter; but *Heraclitus* on the contrary, as having done ſome great and worthy thing, ſaid, *I have been ſeeking my ſelf.* And of the Sentences, that were written over the Gates of *Apollo*'s Temple at *Delphos*, the moſt excellent and moſt divine ſeems to have been this: *Know thy ſelf.* And this it was, which gave *Socrates* and Occaſion an Beginning of doubting and enquiring into it, as *Ariſtotle* ſays in his *Platonics*. And yet this appears to *Colotes* ridiculous and fit to be ſcofft at: And I wonder, that he derides not alſo his Maſter himſelf, who does as much, whenever he writes concerning the Subſtance of the Soul, and the Beginning of that confuſed Maſs. For if that which is compounded of both, as they themſelves hold, of the Body, to wit, and the Soul, is Man, he, who ſearches into the Nature of the Soul, conſequently alſo ſearches into the Nature of Man beginning from

from his chiefeſt Principle. Now that the Soul is very difficultly to be comprehended by Reaſon, and altogether incomprehenſible by the exterior Senſes, let us not learn from *Socrates*, who is a vain glorious and ſophiſtical Diſputer, but let us take it from theſe wiſe Men, who, having forg'd and fram'd the Subſtance of the Soul, as far as to her Faculties about the Fleſh, by which ſhe gives Heat, Softneſs and Strength to the Body, of ſomewhat hot, ſpiritual and aerial, proceed not to that which is the principal, but give over faint and tir'd by the way. For that, by which ſhe judges, remembers, loves, hates, and in a word, that which is prudent and rational, is, ſay they, made afterwards of I know not what nameleſs Quality. Now we well know, that this nameleſs things is a Confeſſion of their ſhameful Ignorance, whilſt they pretend, they cannot name what they are not able to underſtand or comprehend. But let this, as they ſay, be pardon'd them: For it ſeems not to be a light and eaſie Matter, and which every one can at the firſt Attempt find out and attain to, but has retir'd it ſelf to the Bottom of ſome very remote Place, and there lies obſcurely conceal'd: So that there is not amongſt ſo many Words and Terms, as are in uſe, any one that can explain or ſhew it. *Socrates* therefore was not a Fool or Blockhead for ſeeking and ſearching, what himſelf was; but they are rather to be thought ſhallow Cox-Combs, who enquire after any other thing before this, the Knowledge of which is ſo neceſſary, and ſo hard to find. But granting a little to *Colotes*, that there is nothing ſo vain, uſeleſs and odious, as the ſeeking into ones ſelf, let us ask him, what Confeſſions of human Life is in this, and how it is, that a Man cannot continue to Live, when he comes once thus to reaſon and diſcourſe in himſelf: *Go to now, what am I? Am I a Compoſition, made up of Soul and Body, or rather a Soul, ſerving it ſelf and making uſe of the Body, as an Horſe-man, who uſing his Horſe, is not a Subject, compos'd of Horſe and Man? Or is every one of us the principal Part of the Souls, by which we underſtand, diſcourſe and act, and all the*

other

other Parts both of Soul and Body, only Organs and Vtenſils of this Power? Or, to conclude, is there no proper Subſtance of the Soul at all apart, but only the Temperature and Complexion of the Body ſo diſpos'd, that it has Force and Power to underſtand and live? But *Socrates* does not by their Queſtions overthrow humane Life, ſince all Natural Philoſophers treat of the ſame Matter. But thoſe perhaps are the monſtruous Queſtions and Inquiries, that trouble the Common-weal, and turn it upſide down, which are in *Phædrus*, where he ſays, that every one ought to examine and conſider himſelf, whether he is a ſavage Beaſt, more cautelous, outragious and furious, than ever was the Serpent *Typhon*; or on the contrary, an Animal more mild and gentle, partaking by Nature of a certain divine Portion, and ſuch, as is free from Pride. Now by theſe Diſcourſes and Reaſonings he overturns not the Life of Man, but drives from it Preſumption and Arrogance, and thoſe haughty and extravagant Opinions and Conceits, he has of himſelf: For this is that Serpent *Typhon*, which your Teacher and Maſter has made to be ſo great in you by his warring againſt the Gods and divine Men.

Having done with *Socrates* and *Plato*, he next attacks *Stilpo*. Now as for thoſe his true Doctrines and good Diſcourſes, by which he manag'd and govern'd himſelf, his Country, his Friends and ſuch Kings and Princes, as lov'd him, and eſteem'd him, he has not written a Word; nor yet what Prudence and Magnanimity was in his Heart accompany'd with Meekneſs, Moderation and Modeſty: But having made mention of one of thoſe little Sentences, he was wont in Mirth and Raillery to object againſt the Sophiſters, he does, without alledging any Reaſon againſt it, or ſolving the Subtilty of the Objection, ſtir up a terrible Tragedy againſt *Stilpo*, ſaying, That the Life of Man is ſubverted by him, inaſmuch as he affirms, that one thing cannot be predicated of another. *For how*, ſays he, *ſhall we live, if we cannot ſtile a Man good, nor a Man a Captain, but muſt ſeparately name*

a Man a Man, Good Good and a Captain a Captain; nor can ſay ten thouſand Horſe-men, or a fortify'd Town, but only call Horſe-men Horſe-men and ten thouſand ten thouſand, and ſo of the reſt? Now what Man ever was there, that liv'd the worſe for this? Or who is there, that hearing this Diſcourſe, does not immediately perceive and underſtand it to be the Speech of a Man, who rallies gallantly and propoſes to others this Logical Queſtion for the Exerciſe of their Wits? 'Tis not, *O Colotes*, a great and dangerous Scandal to ſay, that Man is not good, or that Horſe-men are not ten thouſand; but to affirm, that God is not God, as you and the reſt do, who will not confeſs, that there is a *Jupiter* preſiding over generation, or a *Ceres* giving Laws, or a *Neptune* watering the Plants. 'Tis this Separation of Names, that is pernicious, and fills our Life with Audaciouſneſs, and an Atheiſtical Contempt of the Gods. When you pluck from the Gods the Names and Apellations, that are ty'd to them, you aboliſh alſo the Sacrifices, Myſteries, Proceſſions and *Feaſts*. For to whom ſhall we offer the Sacrifices preceding the Tilling of the Ground, called *Protelia?* To whom thoſe for the obtaining of Health and Preſervation, call'd *Soteria*? How ſhall we celebrate the *Phoſphoria* or Funeral Rites, the *Bacchanals*, and the Ceremonies, that go before Marriage, if we admit neither * *Baccantes*, † *Phoſphori*, ‖ *Proereſſi*, nor * *Soteres*? For this it is, that touches the principal and greateſt Point, being an Error in things, and not in Words, in the Structure of Propoſitions, or Uſe of Terms.

* The Prieſts of *Bacchus*.

† The Gods preſiding over Funeral and Marriage Solemnities, ſo call'd from the bearing of Torches, which was uſual in both.

‖ Thoſe, that were invocated at the Beginning to plow and break open the Ground.

* Thoſe that had Care of Mans ſafety and Preſervation.

Now if theſe are the things, that diſturb and ſubvert human Life, who are there that more offend and fail in Language than you For ſaying, that Propoſitions are the only Subſtance of Speech, you utterly aboliſh the Being of ſimple Words

Words, and admitting only what is by Compoſition, you take away in the mean time the things, particularly ſignify'd by them, by which are wrought Diſciplines, Doctrines, Anticipations, Intelligences, Inclination and Aſſent, which you hold to be nothing at all. But as for *Stilpo*, thus the Matter ſtands. If of a Man we predicate Good, and of an Horſe Running, he ſays, that the *Predicate*, or thing predicated, is not the ſame with the Subject, or that, of which it is predicated; but that the eſſential Definition of Man is one, and of Good another; and again, that to be an Horſe, differs from to be Running: For being askt the Definition of the one and of the other, we do not give the ſame for them both; and that therefore thoſe err, who predicate the one of the other. For if Good is the ſame with Man, and to run the ſame with an Horſe, now is Good affirm'd alſo of Food and Medicine; and again, by *Jupiter*, To run, of a Lyon and a Dog? But if the *Predicate* is different, then we do not rightly ſay, that a Man is good, and an Horſe runs. Now if *Stilpo* is in this exorbitant, and groſly miſtaken, not admiting any Copulation of ſuch things, as are in the *Subject*, or affirm'd of the *Subject*, with the *Subject* it ſelf; but holding that every one of them, if it is not abſolutely one and the ſame thing with that, to which it happens, or of which it is ſpoken, ought not to be ſpoken or affirm'd of it, no not even as an Accident; 'Tis nevertheleſs manifeſt, that he was only offended with the Words, and oppos'd the uſual and accuſtom'd Manner of Speaking, and not that he overthrew Mans Life, and turn'd his Affairs up-ſide down.

Colote, then, having got rid of the old Philoſophers, turns to thoſe of his own time, but without naming any of them; though he would have done better, either to have reprov'd by Name theſe Moderns, as he did the Antients, or elſe to have nam'd neither of them. But he who has ſo often employ'd his Pen againſt *Socrates*, *Plato* and *Parmenides*, evidently demonſtrates, that 'tis thro' Cowardiſe, he dares not attack the Living, and not for any Modeſty or Reverence, of which he ſhewed

not the leaſt Sign to thoſe who were far more excellent than theſe: But his meaning is, as I ſuſpect, to aſſault the *Cyrenaics* firſt, and afterwards the *Academics*, who are Followers of *Arceſilaus*: For theſe were they who doubted of all things: But thoſe, placing the Paſſions and Imaginations in themſelves, were of Opinion, that the Belief, proceeding from them, is not ſufficient for the aſſuring and affirming of things; but, as if it were in the Siege of a Town, abandoning what is without, they have ſhut themſelves up in the Paſſions uſing this Word, *It ſeems*, and not aſſerting of things without, *It is*. And therefore they cannot, as *Colotes* ſays of them, live, or have the Uſe of things. And then ſpeaking comically of them, he adds: *Theſe deny, that there is a Man, an Horſe, a Wall; but ſay, that they become Walls, Horſes, Men.* In which he firſt maliciouſly abuſes the Terms, as Calumniators are uſually wont to do. For tho' theſe things follow from the Sayings of the *Cyrenaicks*; yet he ought to have declar'd the Fact, as they themſelves teach it: For they affirm, that things then become ſweet, bitter, lightſome, or dark, when each things has the Effect of theſe Paſſions in it ſelf, ſo that it cannot be abſtracted from it. But if Honey is ſaid to be ſweet, an Olive-branch bitter, Hail cold, Wine hot, and the Nocturnal Air dark, there are many Beaſts things, and Men, that teſtifie the contrary: For ſome have an Averſion for Honey, others feed on the Branches of the Olive-Tree; ſome are ſcorch'd by Hail, others cool'd with Wine; and ſome whoſe Sight is dazled in the Sun, ſee well by Night. Wherefore Opinion, containing it ſelf within theſe Paſſions, remains ſafe and free from Error; but when it goes forth, and attempts to be curious in judging and pronouncing concerning exterior things, it often deceives it ſelf, and oppoſes others, who from the ſame Objects receive contrary Paſſions, and different Imaginations. And *Colotes* ſeems properly to reſemble thoſe young Children, who are but beginning to learn their Letters: For being accuſtom'd to learn them, where they ſee them in their own Horn-Books and Primers, when you ſee 'em written any where elſe, they doubt

and are troubled: So thoſe very Diſcourſes, which he praiſes and approves in the Writings of *Epicurus*, he neither underſtands, nor knows again, when they are ſpoken by others. For thoſe, who ſay, that the Senſe is truly inform'd and moulded, when there is preſented one Image round, and another broken, but nevertheleſs permit us not to pronounce, that the Tower is round, and the Oar broken, confirm, that the Paſſions are their Imaginations, but they will not acknowledge, and confeſs, that the things without are ſo affected. But as thoſe ſay not, that they are an Horſe or Wall, but that indeed they are imprinted with the Figure of an Horſe, or of a Wall: So alſo it is neceſſary to ſay, that the Sight is imprinted with a Figure round or triangular, with three unequal Sides, and not that the Tower is in that manner triangular or round: For the Image, by which the Sight is affected, is broken; but the Oar whence that Image proceeds, is not broken. Since then there is a Difference between the Paſſions and the external Subject, the Beliet muſt either remain in the Paſſion, or elſe the Beginning, that is confirm'd by the Appearance, is reprov'd and convinc'd of Untruth. And whereas they cry out, and are offended about the Senſe, becauſe the *Cyrenaicks* ſay not, that the thing without is hot, but that the Paſſion of the Senſe is ſuch: Is it not the ſame, with what is ſaid touching the Taſte, when he ſays, that the thing without is not ſweet; but that ſome Paſſion and Motion about the Senſe is ſuch? And for him, who ſays, that he has receiv'd the Apprehenſion of an humane Form, but perceives not, that it is a Man, whence has he taken occaſion ſo to ſay? Is it not from thoſe, who affirm, that they receive an Imagination and Apprehenſion of a bow'd Figure and Form; but that the Sight pronounces not the thing, which was ſeen to have been bowing or round, but that a certain Effigies of it was ſuch? Yes, by *Jupiter*, will ſome one ſay; but I, going near the Tower, or touching the Oar, will pronounce and affirm, that the one is ſtrait, and the other has many Angles and Faces; but he, when he comes near it, will confeſs,

that it ſeems and appears ſo to him. and no more. Yes certainly, good Sir, and more than this, when he ſees and obſerves the Conſequence, that every Imagination is equally worthy of Belief for it ſelf and none for another; but that they are all in like Condition. But this your Opinion is quite loſt, that all the Imaginations are true, and none falſe or to be disbeliev'd, if you think, that theſe, being near, ought to pronounce poſitively of that which is without; but thoſe being far off, you credit no farther, than that they are ſo affected. For if they are in equal Condition, as to their being believ'd, when they are near, or when they are far off, 'tis juſt, that either upon all of them, or not upon theſe, ſhould follow the Judgment, pronouncing, that a thing is; but if there is a difference in the being affected between thoſe that are near, and thoſe that are far off, it it then falſe, that one ſenſe and Imagination is not more expreſs and evident than another. As thoſe, which they call Atteſtations, are nothing to the Senſe, but ſomewhat to Opinion: So they would have us, following them, to pronounce concerning exterior things: And making Being the Judgment of Opinion, and what appears the Affection of Senſe, they transfer the Judicature from that, which is totally true, to that, which often fails. But how full of Trouble and Contradiction, in reſpect of one another, theſe things are, what need is there to ſay at preſent?

But the Reputation of *Arceſilaus* who was the beſt belov'd and moſt eſteem'd of all the Philoſophers in his Time ſeems to have been no ſmall Eye-ſore to *Epicurus*; who ſays of him that delivering nothing peculiar to himſelf, or of his own Invention, he imprinted in illiterate Men an Opinion and Eſteem of his being very knowing and Learned. Now *Arceſilaus* was ſo far from deſiring any Glory by being a Bringer in of new Opinions, and from arrogating to himſelf thoſe of the Ancients, that the Sophiſters of that Time blam'd him for attributing to *Socrates Plato*, *Parmenides* and *Heraclitus* the Doctrins concerning the Retention of Aſſent and the Incomprehenſibility of things, having no need ſo to do but only that he might ſtrenghthen them, and rende

them

them recommendable by inſcribing them to ſuch illuſtrious Perſonages. For this therefore Thanks to *Colotes*, and every one, who declares, that the *Academic* Doctrin was from higher Times deriv'd to *Arceſilaus*. Now as for the Retentation of Aſſent, and the Doting of all things, not even thoſe, who have much labour'd in the Matter, and ſtrain'd themſelves to compoſe great Books, and large Treatiſes concerning it, were ever able to ſtir it, but bringing at laſt out of the *Stoa* it ſelf the Ceſſation from all Actions, as the *Gorgon* to frighten away the Objections, that came againſt them, were at laſt quite tir'd and gave over. For they could not, what Attempts and Stirs ſoever they made, obtain ſo much from the Inſtinct, by which the Appetite is mov'd to act, as to ſuffer it ſelf to be call'd an Aſſent, or to acknowledge Senſe for the Origin, and Principle of its Propenſion, but it appear'd of its own Accord to preſent it ſelf to act, as having no need to be joyn'd with any thing elſe. For againſt ſuch Adverſaries the Combat and Diſpute is lawful and juſt: And,

Such Words, as you have ſpoke, the like you may
Expect to hear. —— ——

For to ſpeak to *Colotes* of Inſtinct and Conſent, is, I ſuppoſe, all one as to play on the Harp before an Aſs. But to thoſe, who can give ear, and Conceive, it is ſaid, that there are in the Soul three ſorts of Motions: The Imaginative, the Appetitive and the conſenting. As to the Imaginative or the Apprehenſion, it cannot be taken away tho' one would: For one cannot, when things approach, avoid being inform'd, and, as it were, mould'd by them, and receiving an Impreſſion from them. The Appetite, being ſtirr'd up by the Imaginative, effectually moves Man to that, which is proper and agreeable to his Nature, juſt as when there is made a Propenſion and Inclination in the principal and reaſonable part. Now thoſe, who with-hold their Aſſent, and doubt of all things, take not away this, but make uſe of the Appetition or Inſtinct, naturally conducting every Man to that, which ſeems convenient for him.

What then is the only thing that they ſhun? That, in which is bred Falſhood and Deceit, that is, Opining, applying and giving their Conſent, which is a yielding thro' Weakneſs to that which appears, and has not any true Utility. For Action ſtands in need of two things, to wit, of the Apprehenſion or Imagination of what is agreeable to Nature, and of the Inſtincts or Appetition, driving to that which is ſo imagin'd: Of which, neither the one nor the other is repugnant to the Retention of Aſſent. For Reaſon withdraws us from Opinion, and not from Appetition or Imagination. When therefore that which is delectable, ſeems to us to be proper for us, there is no need of Opinion to move and carry us to it, but Appetition immediately exerts it ſelf, which is nothing elſe but the Motion and Inclination of the Soul. But a Man muſt have a Senſe, as it were of, theſe things, and be Fleſh and Blood, and ſo the Pleaſure alſo will appear to be good. Wherefore alſo it will ſeem good to him, who withholds his Aſſent: For he alſo participates of Senſe, and is made of Fleſh and Blood, and as ſoon as he has conceiv'd an Imagination of Good, deſires it, and does all things that it may not eſcape from him; but as much as poſſible he can, he will be, and keep himſelf with that, which is agreeable to his Nature, being drawn by Natural, and not by Geometrical Conſtraints. For theſe goodly, gentle and tickling Motions of the Fleſh, are, without any Teacher, attractive enough of themſelves, even as theſe Men forget not to ſay to draw even him, who will not in the leaſt acknowledge and confeſs, that he is ſoftned and rendred pliable by them. But how comes it to paſs, perhaps, you will ſay, that he, who is thus doubtful, and withholds his Aſſent, haſtens not away to the Mountain inſtead, of going to the *Bagnio*? Or that riſing up to go forth into the Market-place, he runs not his Head againſt the Wall, but takes his way directly to the Door? Do you ask this, who hold all the Senſes to be infallible, and the Apprehenſions of the Imagination certain and true? 'Tis, becauſe the *Bagnio* appears to him not a Mountain, but a *Bagnio*, and the Door ſeems not a Wall,

but a Door; and the ſame is to be ſaid of every other thing. For the Doctrine of Retentation does not pervert the Senſe; nor by abſurd Paſſions and Motions work in it an Alteration, diſturbing the imaginative Faculty, but only takes away Opinions; and for the reſt, makes uſe of other things according to their Nature.

But 'tis impoſſible, you will ſay, not to conſent to things that are evident; for to deny ſuch things as are believ'd, is more abſurd, than neither to deny, nor affirm. Who then are they that call in queſtion things believ'd, and contend againſt things that are evident? They, who overthrow and take away Divination, who ſay, that there is not any Government of Divine Providence, who deny the Sun and the Moon to whom all Men offer Sacrifices, and whom they honour and adore, to be animated. And do not you take away that which is apparent to all the World, that the Young are contain'd in the Nature of their Parents? Do ye not, contrary to the Senſe of all Men, affirm, that there is no *Medium* between Pleaſure and Pain, ſaying not to be in Pain, is to be in the Fruition of Pleaſure; that not to do, is to ſuffer; and that not to rejoyce, is to be griev'd? But to let paſs all the reſt, which is more evident, and more generally believ'd by all Men, than that thoſe, who are ſeiz'd with Melancholy Diſtempers, and whoſe Brain is troubled, and their Wits diſtracted, do when the Fit is on them, and their Underſtanding alter'd and tranſported, imagine, that they ſee and hear things, which they neither ſee nor hear? Whence they frequently cry out:

Women, in Black array'd, bear in their Hands,
To burn mine Eyes, Torches and fiery Brands.

And again,

See, in her Arms ſhe holds my Mother dear.

Theſe and many other Illuſions, more ſtrange and Tragical than theſe, reſembling thoſe *Mormoes* and

Bug-bears

Bug-bears, which they themſelves laugh at and deride, as they are deſcrib'd by *Empedocles* to be,

Bow legg'd, Ram-headed, body'd like an Ox,
And jac'd like Man, ——— ———

with certain other prodigious and unnatural Phantoms, theſe Men, having gather'd together out of Dreams, and the Alienations of Diſtracted Minds, affirm, that none of them is a Deception of the Sight, a Falſity, or Inconſiſtence: but that all theſe Imaginations are true, being Bodies and Figures; that come from the Ambient Air. What thing then is there ſo impoſſible in Nature, as to be doubted of, if it is poſſible to believe ſuch Reveries as theſe? For theſe Men, ſuppoſing, that ſuch things, as never any Mask maker, Potter, Carver of wonderful Images., or skilful and all-daring Painter, durſt joyn together, to deceive, or make Sport for the Beholders, are ſeriouſly, and in good earneſt exiſtent; nay, which is more, affirming that if they are not really ſo, all Firmneſs of Belief, all Certainty of Judgment and Truth is for ever gone, do by theſe their Suppoſitions and Affirmations caſt all things into Obſcurity, and bring Fears into our Judgments, and Suſpicions into our Actions, if thoſe things which we apprehend, do, are familiarly acquainted with, and have at hand, are grounded on the ſame Imagination and Belief with theſe furious, abſurd and extravagant Phanſies. For the Equality, which they ſuppoſe to be in all Apprehenſions, rather derogates from the Credit of ſuch as are uſual and rational, than adds any Belief to thoſe, that are unuſual and repugnant to Reaſon. Wherefore we know many Philoſophers, who would rather and more willingly grant, that no Imagination is true, than that all are ſo, and that would rather ſimply disbelieve all the Men they never had converſed with, all the things they had not experimented, and all the Speeches they had not heard with their own Ears, than perſwade themſelves, that any one of theſe Imaginations, conceiv'd by theſe frantic,

* fanatical and dreaming Perſons, is true. Since then there are ſome Imaginations, which may, and others, which may not be rejected, 'tis lawful for us to retain our Aſſent concerning them, though there were no other Cauſe, but this Diſcordance, which is ſufficient to work in us a Suſpicion of things, as having nothing certain and aſſur'd, but being altogether full of Obſcurity and Perturbation. For in the Infinities of the World, and the Nature of Atoms, and the Differences of *Individuums* and Declinations, altho' they trouble and diſturb very many, there is yet this Comfort, that none of all theſe things, that are in Queſtion, is near us, but rather every one of them far remote from Senſe. But as to this Diffidence, Perplexity and Ignorance, concerning ſenſible things and Imaginations, preſented to our Eyes, our Ears, and our Hands, what Opinion does it not ſhock? What Conſent does it not turn upſide down? For if Men, neither Drunk, Intoxicated, nor otherwiſe diſturb'd in their Senſes, but ſober, ſound in Mind, and profeſſedly writing of the Truth, and of the Canons and Rules, by which to judge it, do in the moſt evident Paſſions and Motions of the Senſe ſet down either that, which has no Exiſtence, for true, or that which is exiſtent, for falſe; 'tis neither to be admir'd, nor incredible, if they give no Judgment of the Imaginations, that appear, but are rather of contrary Judgments. For 'tis leſs to be wondred, that a Man ſhould neither affirm the one nor the other, but keep himſelf in a Mean between two oppoſite things, than that he ſhould ſet down things, repugnant and contrary to one another. For he, that neither affirms nor denies, but keeps himſelf quiet, is leſs repugnant to him, who affirms an Opinion, than he, who denies it and

*The *Greek* has Κορυβαντιῶντες, which *Xylander* renders by *Corybantico furore exagitati*, that is, poſſeſs'd with ſuch a Fury, as agitated the *Corybantes*, or Servitors of *Cybele*, when running like Madmen about the Streets, they cut themſelves with Knives, ſtruck ſuch as they met, and committed ſeveral other extravagant Actions.

and to him who denies an Opinion, than he, who affirms it. Now if 'tis poſſible to withhold ones Aſſent concerning theſe things, 'tis not impoſſible alſo concerning others, at leaſt according to your Opinion, who ſay, that one Senſe does not exceed another, nor one Imagination another. The Doctrine then of retaining the Aſſent, is not, as *Colotes* thinks, a Fable, or an Invention of raſh and light-headed Young Men, who pleaſe themſelves in babling and prating; but a certain Habit and Diſpoſition of Men, who deſire to keep themſelves from miſtaking and falling into Error, not leaving the Judgment at a venture to ſuch ſuſpected and inconſtant Senſes, nor ſuffering themſelves to be deceiv'd with thoſe, who hold, that things which appear, are credible, and ought to be believ'd, as certain, when they ſee ſo great an Obſcurity and Uncertainty in Imaginations and Appearances. But the *Infinity*, you aſſert, is a Fable, and ſo indeed are the Images you dream of, and he breeds in Young Men Raſhneſs and Self-conceitedneſs, who writ of *Pythocles*, not yet eighteen years of Age, that there was not in all *Greece* a better or more excellent Nature, that he admirably well expreſt his Conceptions, and that his Caſe was much like that of Women, praying, that all theſe extraordinary Endowments of the Young Men might not work him Hatred and Envy.

But theſe are Sophiſters, and arrogant, who writes ſo impudently and proudly againſt great and excellent Perſonages. I confeſs indeed, that *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Theophraſtus* and *Democritus* contradicted thoſe, who went before them; but never durſt any Man, beſides *Colotes*, ſet forth with ſuch an inſolent Title, as this, againſt all at once. Whence it comes to paſs, that like to ſuch, as have offended ſome Divinity, confeſſing his Fault, he ſays thus towards the end of his Book: *Thoſe, who have eſtabliſhed Laws and Ordinances, and inſtituted Monarchies and other Governments in Towns and Cities, have plac'd human Life in great Repoſe and Security, and deliver'd it from many Troubles; and if any one ſhould go about to take this away, we ſhould lead the Life of ſavage Beaſts*

Beaſts, and ſhould be every one ready to eat up one another, as we meet. For theſe are the very words of *Colotes*, tho' neither juſtly nor truly ſpoken. For if any one, taking away the Laws, ſhould leave us nevertheleſs the Doctrines of *Parmenides*, *Socrates*, *Plato* and *Heraclitus*, we ſhould be far from mutually devouring one another, and leading the Life of Beaſts: for we ſhould fear diſhoneſt things, and ſhould for Honeſty alone venerate Juſtice, the Gods, our Superiors, and Magiſtrates, believing, that we have Spirits and Dæmons, who are the Guardians and Superintendents of human Life, eſteeming all the Gold, that is upon and within the Earth, not to be equivalent to Vertue; and doing that willingly by reaſon, as *Xenocrates* ſays, which we now do by force, and through fear of the Law. When then will our Life become ſavage and beſtial? When, the Laws being taken away, there ſhall be left Books and Doctrines, inciting Men to Pleaſure, when the World ſhall be thought not to be rul'd and govern'd by divine Providence, when thoſe Men ſhall be eſteem'd wiſe who ſhall ſpit at Honeſty, if it is not joyn'd with Pleaſure, and ſuch Diſcourſes and Sentences, as theſe, ſhall be ſcoft at, and derided:

God's Juſtice has one Eye, which all things ſees:

And again:

God near us ſtands, and views what e'er we do:

And once more: God, as Antiquity has deliver'd to us, holding the Beginning, Middle and End of the Univerſe, makes a direct Line, walking according to Nature. After him follows Juſtice, a Puniſher of thoſe, who have been deficient in their Duties, by tranſgreſſing the divine Law. For they, who contemn theſe things, as if they were Fables, and think, that the Sovereign Good of Man conſiſts about the Belly, and in thoſe other Labours, by which Pleaſure is procur'd, are ſuch as ſtand in need of the Law, and Fear, and Stripes, and ſome King, Prince, or Magiſtrate, having in his hand the Sword of Juſtice: To the end they

may

may not devour their Neighbours through their Gluttony, render'd confident by their Atheiſtical Impiety. For this is the Life of Brutes, becauſe brute Beaſts know nothing better, nor more honeſt than Pleaſure, underſtand not the Juſtice of the Gods, nor revere the Beauty of Vertue, but if Nature has beſtow'd on them any Point of Courage, Subtility or Activity, they make uſe of it for the Satisfaction of their fleſhly Pleaſure, and the Accompliſhment of their Luſts. And therefore *Metrodorus* is eſteem'd by them a very wiſe Man, when he ſays, *All the fine, ſubtle and ingenious Inventions of the Soul have been found out for the Pleaſure and Delight of the Fleſh, or for the Hopes of attaining to it and enjoying it, and every Act, which tends not to this End, is vain and unprofitable.* The Laws being by ſuch Diſcourſes and Philoſophical Reaſons, as theſe, taken away, there wants nothing to a Beaſt-like Life, but Lions Paws, Wolves Teeth, Oxens Paunches, and Camels Necks: and theſe Paſſions and Doctrines do the Beaſts themſelves, for want of Speech and Letters, expreſs by their Bellowings, Neighings and Brayings, all their Voice being for their Belly, and the Pleaſure of their Fleſh, which they embrace and rejoice in either preſent or future; unleſs it be perhaps ſome Animal, which naturally takes Delight in Chattering and Garrulity. No ſufficient Praiſe therefore, or equivalent to their Deſerts, can be given thoſe, who, for the reſtraining of ſuch beſtial Paſſions, have ſet down Laws, eſtabliſht Policy and Government of State, inſtituted Magiſtrates, and ordain'd good and wholſom Decrees.

But who are they, that utterly confound and aboliſh this? Are they not thoſe, who ſay, that the Garland of Tranquility and a repos'd Life is not comparable to, but far more valuable than all the Kingdoms and Principalities in the World? Are they not, thoſe, who declare, that Reigning and being a King is a miſtaking the Path, and ſtraying from the right way of Felicity? And who writes in expreſs Terms: *We are to treat, how a Man may beſt keep and preſerve the end of Nature, and how he may from the very Beginning avoid entring of his own Free-*

Free-will and voluntarily upon Offices of Magiſtracy, and Government over the People: And yet again, theſe other Words are theirs: *There is no need at all that a Man ſhould tire out his Mind and Body to preſerve the* Greeks, *and to obtain from them a Crown of Wiſdom; but to eat and drink well*, O Timocrates, *without prejudicing, but rather pleaſing the Fleſh.* And yet in the Conſtitution of Laws and Policy, which *Colotes* ſo much praiſes, the firſt and moſt important Article is the Belief and Perſwaſion of the Gods: wherefore alſo *Lycurgus* heretofore ſanctify'd the *Lacædemonians*, *Numa* the *Romans*, the ancient *Ion* the *Athenians*, and *Deucalion* univerſally all the *Greeks*, by rendring them devout and affectionate to the Gods in Prayers, Oaths, Oracles and Prophecies, by means of the Hope and Fear, they imprinted in their Minds. And if you will take the Pains to travel thro' the world, you may find Towns and Cities without Walls, without Letters, without Kings, without Houſes, without Wealth, without Money, without Theatres and Places of Exerciſe; but there was never ſeen nor ſhall be ſeen by Man any one City without Temples and Gods, or without making uſe of Prayers, Oaths Prophecies and Sacrifices for the obtaining of Bleſſings and Benefits and the averting of Curſes and Calamities. Nay, I am of Opinion, that a City might ſooner be built without any Ground, to fix it on, than a Commonweal be conſtituted, altogether void of Religion, and the Opinion of the Gods, or being conſtituted, be preſerv'd. But this, which is the Foundation and Ground of all Laws, do theſe Men, not going circularly about, nor ſecretly and by enigmatical Speeches, but attacking it with the firſt of their moſt principal Opinions, directly ſubvert and overthrow; and then afterwards, as if they were haunted by the Furies, they come, and confeſs, that they have grievouſly offended in thus taking away the Laws, and confounding the Ordinances of Juſtice and Policy, that they may not be capable of Pardon. For to err in Opinion, tho it be not the part of wiſe Men, is at leaſt human; but to impute to others the Errors and Offences, they commit themſelves, how can any one declare, what

what it is, if he forbears to give it the Name, it deſerves? For if in writing againſt *Antidorus*, or *Bion*, the Sophiſter, he had made mention of Laws, Policy, Order and Juſtice, might not either of them have ſaid to him, as *Electea* did to her mad Brother *Oreſtes*;

Lie ſtill at eaſe, poor wretch, keep in thy Bed.

and there cheriſh thy *Corpuſculum*, leaving thoſe to expoſtulate and find fault with me, who have themſelves liv'd œconomically and politically? Now ſuch are all thoſe, whom *Colotes* has revil'd and rail'd at in his Book.

Amongſt whom, *Democritus* in his Writings adviſes and exhorts to the Learning of the Military Science, as being the greateſt of all, and to the accuſtoming oneſelf to forbear the Fatigues of it, by which Men attain to great Wealth and Honour. And as for *Parmenides*, he beautify'd and adorn'd his Native Country with moſt excellent Laws, which he there Eſtabliſh'd, ſo that even to this Day the Officers every Year, when they enter firſt on the Exerciſe of their Charges, are oblig'd to ſwear, that they will obſerve the Laws and Ordinances of *Parmenides*. *Empedocles* brought to Juſtice ſome of the principal of his City, and caus'd them to be condemn'd for their inſolent Behaviour, and Embezling of the Publick Treaſure, and alſo deliver'd his Country from Sterility and the Plague, to which Calamities it was before ſubject, by immuring and ſtopping up the Hoſes of certain Mountains, whence there iſſu'd an hot South-wind, which over-ſpread all the plain Country, and blaſted it. And *Socrates*, after he was condemn'd, when his Friends offer'd him, if he pleas'd, an Opportunity of making his Eſcape, abſolutely refus'd to make uſe of it, that he might maintain the Authority of the Laws, chuſing rather to Die unjuſtly, than to ſave himſelf by Diſobeying the Laws of his Country. *Meliſſus*, being *Prætor*, or a Captain General of his Country, vanquiſh'd the *Athenians* in a Battle at Sea. *Plato* left in his Writings excellent Diſcourſes concerning the Laws, Government and Policy of a Common-weal, and yet he imprinted much better in the Hearts and

Minds

Minds of his Diſciples and Familiars, which were the Cauſe of *Dion*'s delivering *Sicily* from the Tyranny of *Dionyſius*, and that *Thrace* was ſet at liberty by *Pytho* and *Heraclides*, who ſlew *Cotys*. *Chabrias* alſo and *Phocion*, thoſe two great Generals of the *Athenians*, came out of the *Academy*, of *Plato*'s School. As for *Epicurus*, he indeed ſent certain Perſons into *Aſia* to chide *Timocrates*, and remov'd him out of the King's Palace, becauſe he had offended his Brother *Metrodorus*; and this is written in their own Books. But *Plato* ſent of his Diſciples and Friends, *Ariſtonymus* to the *Arcadians*, to ſet in order their Common-weal, *Phormio* to the *Eleans*, and *Menedemus* to the *Pyrrhæans*, *Eudoxus* gave Laws to the *Cnidians*, and *Ariſtotle* to the *Stagirites*, who were both of them the Intimates of *Plato*. And *Alexander* the great demanded of *Xenocrates* Rules and Precepts for reigning well. And he, who was ſent to the ſame *Alexander* by the *Grecians*, dwelling in *Aſia*, and moſt of all inflam'd and ſtimulated him to embrace and undertake the War againſt the *Barbarian* King of *Perſia*, was *Delus* the *Epheſian*, one of *Plato*'s Familiars. *Zeno*, the Diſciple of *Parmenides*, having attempted to kill the Tyrant *Demylus*, and failing in his Deſign, maintain'd the Doctrine of *Epimenides*, like pure and fine Gold, try'd in the Fire, that there is nothing, which a magnanimous Man ought to dread, but Diſhonour, and that there are none, but Children and Women, or effeminate and Women-hearted Men, who fear Pain: For having with his own Teeth bitten off his Tongue, he ſpit it in the Tyrant's Face. But out of the School of *Epicurus*, and from among thoſe, who follow his Doctrine, I will not ask, what Tyrant-killer has proceeded, nor yet what Man, Valiant and Victorious in Feats of Arms, what Law-giver, what Prince, what Councellor, or what Governour of the People; neither will I demand, who of them has been tormented or dy'd for ſupporting of Right and Juſtice. But which of all theſe Sages has for the Benefit and Service of his Country undertaken ſo much as one Voyage at Sea, gone of an Embaſſy, or expended a Sum of

Money? What Record is there extant of one Civil Action in matter of Government, perform'd by any of you? And yet becauſe *Metrodorus* went down one day from the City as far as the Haven of *Pyreum*, taking a Journey of forty *Stadia* or four or five Miles, to aſſiſt *Mithres* a *Syrian*, one of the King of *Perſians* Court, who had been arreſted and taken Priſoner, he writ of it to every one, and in all his Letters, *Epicurus* alſo highly magnifying and extolling thiswonderful Voyage. What value then, think you, would they have put upon it, if they had done ſuch an Act, as *Ariſtotle* did who procur'd the Reſtauration and Rebuilding of *Stagira*, the Town of his Nativity, after it had been deſtroy'd byKing *Philip*? Or as *Theophraſtus*, who twice deliver'd his City, when poſſeſs'd and held by Tyrants? Would not the River *Nilus* ſooner have given over to bear the Paper-reed, than they have ben weary of writing their brave Exploits?

And is it not a very great Indignity, that of ſo many Sects of Philoſophers, as have been extant, they alone ſhould enjoy the Benefits that are in Cities, without having ever contributed to them any thing of their own? There are not even any Tragical or Comical Poets, who do not always endeavour to do or ſay ſome good thing or other in defence of the Laws and Policy. But theſe Men, if peradventure they write, write of Policy, that we may not concern our ſelves in the Government of the Common weal; of Rhetoric, that we may not perform any Act of Eloquence; and of Royalty, that we may ſhun the Living and Converſing with Kings: Nor do they ever name any of thoſe great Perſonages, who have intermedled in Civil Affairs, but only to ſcoff at them, and aboliſh their Glory. Thus in Words alone do they ſay, that *Epaminondas* had ſomething of Good, but that as little as poſſible, or μικκὸν, for that is the very word, they uſe: They moreover call him Iron-hearted, and ask, what ail'd him, that he went marching his Army thro' all *Peloponneſus*, and why he did not rather keep himſelf quiet at home with a little Garland or Chaplet on his Head

employ'd

employ'd only in cheriſhing and making much of himſelf. But methinks I ought not in this Place to omit, what *Metrodorus* writ in his Book of Philoſophy, when utterly adjuring all medling in the Management of the State, he ſaid thus: *Some thro' an abundance of Vanity and Arrogance, have ſo deep an Inſight into the Buſineſs of it, that in treating about the Precepts of good Life and Vertue, they ſuffer themſelves to be carry'd away with the very ſame Deſires, as were* Lycurgus *and* Solon. What is this? Was it then Vanity and Abundance of Vanity, to ſet free the City of *Athens*, to render *Sparta* well-Policy'd and Govern'd by wholſom Laws, that Young Men might do nothing licentiouſly, nor get Children upon common Courteſans and Whores, and that Riches, Delights, Intemperance and Diſſolution, might no longer bear ſway, and have Command in Cities, but Law and Juſtice? For theſe were the Deſires of *Solon*. To this *Metrodorus* by way of Scorn and Centumely adds this Concluſion: *It is then very well beſeeming a Gentleman to laugh heartily, as at other Men, ſo eſpecially at theſe* Solons *and* Lycurguſſes. But ſuch an one, *O Metrodorus*, is not a Gentleman, but a ſervile, and diſſolute Perſon, and deſerves to be ſcourg'd, not with that Whip, which is for Free-born Perſons, but with that * *Aſtragolote* or Cat-of-nine-tails, with which thoſe gelden Sacrificers, call'd † *Galli*, were wont to be chaſtis'd, when they fail'd of performing their Duty in the Ceremonies and Sacrifices of the Goddeſs *Cybele*, the great Mother of the Gods. But that they made Warnot againſt the Law-givers but againſt the Law, themſelves one may hear and underſtand from *Epicurus*: For in his Queſtions he asks himſelf; Whether a wiſe Man, being aſſur'd, that it will not be known, will do any thing, that the Laws forbid? To which he anſwers: *A ſimple Determination is not ready;*

* This was a Scourge of ſeveral Strings, at the End of which were faſtned Ancle-bones, call'd *Aſtragali*, to render it more ſmarting.

† Theſe were the furious Prieſts of *Cybele* ſuppos'd to be ſo call'd from the River *Gallus*, by the liberal Drinking of whoſe Water they fell mad, and caſtrated themſelves.

that is, I will do it indeed; but I am not willing to confeſs it. And again, I ſuppoſe, writing to *Idomeneus*, he exhorts him not to make his Life a Slave to the Laws, nor to the Opinions of Men, unleſs it be to avoid the Trouble, they prepare, by the Scourge and Chaſtiſement, ſo near at hand. If then thoſe, who aboliſh the Laws, Governments and Policies of Men, ſubvert and deſtroy humane Life; and if *Metrodorus* and *Epicurus* do this, by dehorting and withdrawing their Friends from concerning themſelves in Publick Affairs, by hating thoſe, who intermeddle in them, by reviling the firſt moſt wiſe Law-givers, and by adviſing the Contempt of the Laws, provided there is no Fear and Danger of the Whip and Puniſhment, I do not ſee, that *Colotes* has brought ſo many falſe Accuſations againſt the other Philoſophers, as he has alledg'd and advanc'd true ones againſt the Writings and Doctrines of *Epicurus*.

Plutarch's *Conſolatory Letter to his Wife.*

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by* Robert Midgley, *M. D. & Col. Med. Lond. Cand.*

Plutarch *to his Wife*, All Health:

AS for the Meſſenger you diſpatched to tell me of the Death of my little Daughter, it ſeems he miſs'd his way as he was going to *Athens*. But when I came to *Tanagra*, I heard of it by my *Neece*. I ſuppoſe by this time the Funeral is over. I wiſh, that whatever happens as well now as hereafter, may create you no Diſſatisfaction. But if you have deſignedly let any thing alone, depending upon my judgment, thinking better to determin the point if I were with you, I pray let it be without Ceremony and timerous Superſtition, which I know are far from you. Only, dear Wife, let you and me bear our Affliction with Patience. I know very well, and do

do comprehend, what loſs we have had; but if I ſhould find you grieve beyond Meaſure, this would trouble me more than the thing it ſelf; for I had my Birth neither from a Stock nor a Stone; and you know it full well; I having been aſſiſtant to you in the Education of ſo many Children, which we brought up at Home under our own Care. This much lamented Daughter, was Born after four Sons, which made me call her by your own Name; therefore I know ſhe was dear to you; and Grief muſt have a peculiar Pungency in a Mind tenderly affectionate to Children, when you call to Mind how naturally witty and innocent ſhe was, void of Anger and not querelous. She was naturally mild, and compaſſionate to a Miracle. And ſhe ſhowed Delight in, and gave a Specimen of, her Humanity and Gratitude towards any thing that had obliged her; for ſhe would pray her Nurſe to give ſuck, not only to other Children, but to her very play-things, as it were courteouſly inviting them to her Table, and making the beſt Chear for them ſhe could. Now, my dear Wife, I ſee no Reaſon why theſe and the like things, which delighted us ſo much when ſhe was alive, ſhould upon Remembrance of them afflict us when ſhe is dead. But I alſo fear, leſt while we ceaſe from Sorrowing, we ſhould forget her, as *Clymene* ſaid,

I hate the handy horned Bow,
And baniſh Youthful Paſtimes now;

becauſe ſhe would not be put in mind of her Son, by the Exerciſes he had been uſed to. For Nature always ſhuns ſuch things as are troubleſome. But ſince our little Daughter afforded all our Senſes, the ſweeteſt and moſt charming Pleaſure; ſo ought we to cheriſh her Memory, which will many Ways conduce more to our Joy than our Grief. And it is but Juſt, that the ſame Arguments which we have oft-times uſed to others, ſhould prevail upon our ſelves at this ſo ſeaſonable a time, and that we ſhould not ſupinely ſit down, and overwhelm the Joys which we have taſted, with a Multiplicity of new Griefs. Moreover, they who were

preſent at the Funeral, report this with Admiration, That you neither put on Morening, nor diſfigured your ſelf or any of your Maids; neither were there any coſtly Preparations nor magnificent Pomp, but that all things were managed with Prudence and Moderation. And it ſeemed not ſtrange to me, that you, who never uſed richly to dreſs your ſelf, for the Theatre or other Public Solemnities, eſteeming ſuch Magnificence vain and uſeleſs, even in Matters of Delight, have now practis'd Frugality on this fineſt Occaſion. For, a Vertuous Woman ought not only to preſerve her Purity in Riotous Feaſts, but alſo to think thus with her ſelf, That the Tempeſt of the Mind in violent Grief muſt be calmed by Patience; which does not intrench on the Natural Love of Parents towards their Children, as many think, but only ſtruggles againſt the diſorderly and irregular Paſſions of the Mind. For, we allow this Love of Children to diſcover it ſelf, in lamenting, wiſhing for, and longing after them when they are dead. But the exceſſive Inclination to Grief, which carries People on to unſeemly Exclamations and furious Behaviour, is no leſs culpable, than luxurious Intemperance. Yet Reaſon ſeems to plead in its Excuſe; becauſe, inſtead of Pleaſure, Grief and Sorrow are Ingredients of the Crime. What can be more Irrational, I pray, than to check exceſſive Laughter and Joy, and yet to give a free Courſe to Divers of Tears and Sighs, which flow from the ſame Fountain? Or, as ſome do quarrel with their Wives for uſing ſome Artificial Helps to Beauty; and in the mean time ſuffer them to ſhave their Heads, wear the Mournful Black, ſit diſconſolate, and lie in pain? And, which is worſt of all, if their wives at any time chaſtiſe their Servants or Maids immoderately, they will interpoſe and hinder them; but, at the ſame time ſuffering them to torment and puniſh themſelves moſt cruelly, in a Caſe which peculiarly requires their greateſt Tenderneſs and Humanity? But between us, dear Wife, there never was any Occaſion for ſuch Conteſts, nor, I think, ever will: For there is no Philoſopher of your Acquaintance,

who

who is not in love with your Frugality, both in Apparel and Diet; nor a Citizen, to whom the Simplicity and Meanneſs of your Dreſs is not conſpicuous, both at Relgious Sacrifices and Public Shews in the Theatre. Formerly alſo, you diſcovered on the like Occaſion, a great Conſtancy of Mind, when you loſt your Eldeſt Son. And again, when the lovely *Charon* left us. For I remember, when the News was brought me of my Sons Death, as I was returning Home with ſome Friends and Gueſts who accompanied me to my Houſe that when they beheld all Things, in Order and obſerved a profound Silence every where (as they afterwards declared to others) they thought no ſuch Calamity had happened, but that the Report was falſe. So diſcreetly had you ſetled the Affairs of the Houſe, at that Time when no ſmall Confuſion and Diſorder might have been expected. And yet you gave this Son ſuck your ſelf, and endured the lancing of your Breaſt, to prevent the ill Effects of a Contuſion. Theſe are Things worthy of a generous Woman, and one that loves her Children. Whereas, we ſee moſt other Women to receive their Children in their Hands as Play-things, with a Feminine Mirth and Jollity, and afterwards, if they chance to die, they will drench themſelves in the moſt vain and exceſſive Sorrow. Not that this is any Effect of their Love (for that gentle Paſſion acts regularly and diſcreetly) but it rather proceeds from a Deſire of Vain-glory, mix'd with a little Natural Affection, which renders their Mourning barbarous, brutiſh and extravagant. Which Thing *Æſop* knew very well, when he tells the Story of *Jupiter*'s giving Honours to the Gods; for, it ſeems, *Grief* alſo made her Demands, and it was granted that ſhe ſhould be honoured but only by thoſe who were willing of their own accord to do it. And indeed, this is the Beginning of Sorrow. Every Body firſt gives her free Acceſs; and after ſhe is once rooted and ſettled, and become familiar, ſhe will not be forced thence with their beſt endeavours. Therefore ſhe muſt be reſiſted

at her firſt Approach, nor muſt we ſurrender the Fort to her by any exterior Signs, whether of Apparel, or ſhaving the Hair, or any other ſuch like Symptoms of mournful Weakneſs; which hapning daily, and wounding us by Degrees with a kind of fooliſh Baſhfulneſs, at length do ſo enervate the Mind, and reduce her to ſuch Streights, that quite dejected and beſieged with Grief, the poor timerous Wretch dare not be merry, or ſee the light, or eat and drink in Company. This Inconvenience is accompanied by a Neglect of the Body, Careleſneſs of Anointing and Bathing, with whatſoever elſe relates to the Elegancy of Humane Life. Whereas on the contrary, the Soul, when it is diſordered, ought to receive Aid from the Vigor of a healthful Body. For, the ſharpeſt Edge of the Soul's Grief, is rebated and ſlack'd when the Body is in Tranquility and Eaſe, like the Sea in a Calm. But where, from an ill Courſe of Diet, the Body becomes dry and hot, ſo that it cannot ſupply the Soul with commodious and ſerene Spirits, but only breathes forth Melancholly Vapors and Exhalations, which perpetually annoy her with Grief and Sadneſs; there it is difficult for a Man (though never ſo willing and deſirous) to recover the Tranquility of his Mind, after it has been diſturbed with ſo many evil Affections. But, that which is moſt to be dreaded in this Caſe, does not at all affrighten me, to wit, the Viſits of fooliſh Women, and there accompanying you in your Tears and Lamentations; by which they ſharpen your Grief, not ſuffering it either of it ſelf, or by the Help of others, to fade and vaniſh away. For, I am not ignorant how great a Combat you lately entred, when you aſſiſted the Siſter of *Theon*, and oppoſed the Women who came running in with horrid Cries and Lamentations, bringing Fewel as it were to her Paſſion. Aſſuredly, when Men ſee their Neighbours Houſe on Fire, every one contributes his utmoſt to quench it: But when they ſee the Mind inflamed with furious Paſſion, they bring Fewel to nouriſh and encreaſe the Flame. When a Man's Eye is in pain, he is not ſuffered

fered to touch it, tho' the Inflammation provoke him to it, nor will they that are near him meddle with it. But he who is gaul'd with Grief, ſits and expoſes his Diſtemper to every one, like Waters that all may poach in; and ſo that which at firſt ſeem'd a light Itching, or trivial Smart, by much fretting and provoking, becomes a great and almoſt incurable Diſeaſe. But, I know very well, that you will arm your ſelf againſt theſe Inconveniences. Moreover, I would have you endeavour to call often to Mind that Time, when our Daughter was not as yet born to us; then we had no cauſe to complain of Fortune. Then, joining that Time with this, argue thus with your ſelf, that we are now in the ſame Condition as then. Otherwiſe, dear Wife, we ſhall ſeem diſcontented at the Birth of our little Daughter, if we own that our Circumſtances were better before her Birth. But the two Years of her Life, are by no means to be forgotten by us, but to be numbred amongſt our Bleſſings, in that they afforded us an agreeable Pleaſure. Nor muſt we eſteem a ſmall Good for a great Evil; nor ungratefully complain againſt Fortune, for what ſhe has actually given us, becauſe ſhe has not added what we wiſh'd for. Certainly, to ſpeak reverently of the Gods, and to bear our Lot with an even Mind, without accuſing Fortune, always brings with it a fair Reward. But he who in ſuch a Caſe calls proſperous Things to Mind, and turning his Thoughts from dark and melancholy Objects, fixes them on bright and chearful ones; he will either quite extinguiſh his Grief, or by allaying it with contrary Sentiments, will render it weak and feeble. For, as a Perfumes brings Delight to the Noſe, and arms it againſt all Scents; ſo, the Remembrance of Happineſs gives neceſſary Aſſiſtance in Adverſity to thoſe who avoid not the Recollection of their paſt Proſperity, nor complain at all againſt Fortune, which certainly would little become us, to accuſe our Life, if like a Book it hath but one little Blot in it, tho' all the reſt be fair and clean. For you have oftentime

times heard, that true Happineſs conſiſts in the right Diſcourſes and Counſels of the Mind, tending to its own conſtant Eſtabliſhment; and that the Changes of Fortune are of no great Importance to the Felicity, of our Life. But yet, if we muſt alſo be governed by exterior things, and with the common Sort of People have a Regard to Caſualties, and ſuffer any kind of Men to be judges of our Happineſs; however, do not you take notice of the Tears and Moans of ſuch as viſit you at preſent, condoling your Misfortune; for, their Tears and Sighs are but of Courſe. But rather, do you conſider how happy every one of them eſteem you, for the Children you have, the Houſe you keep, and the Life you lead. For it would be an ill thing, while others covet your Fortune, though ſullied with this Affliction, that you ſhould exclaim againſt what you enjoy; and not be ſenſible from the Taſte of Affliction how grateful you ought to be for the Happineſs which remains untouched. Or, like ſome, who collecting all the Defective Verſes of *Homer*, paſs'd over at the ſame time ſo many excellent Parts of his Poems. So ſhall we peeviſhly complain of, and reckon up the Inconveniencies of our Life, neglecting at the ſame time promiſcuouſly the Benefits thereof? Or, ſhall we imitate covetous and ſordid Miſers, who having heap'd together much Riches, never enjoy what they have in Poſſeſſion, but bewail it, if it chance to be loſt.

But if you lament the poor Girl, becauſe ſhe died unmarried and without Off-ſpring; you have wherewithal to comfort your ſelf, in that you are defective in none of theſe Things, having had your ſhare. And theſe are not to be eſteemed great Evils where they are wanted, and ſmall Benefits where they are enjoyed. But ſo long as ſhe is gone to a Place where ſhe feels no Pain, ſhe has no need of our Grief. For, what Harm can befal us from her, when ſhe is free from all Hurt? And ſurely the Loſs of great Things abates its Grief, when it is come to this, that there is no more

more Ground of Grief or Care for them. But thy *Timoxena* was deprived but of ſmall Matters; for, ſhe had no Knowledge but of ſuch, neither took ſhe delight but in ſuch ſmall Things. But for that which ſhe never was ſenſible of, nor ſo much as once did enter into her Thoughts, how can you ſay it is taken from her?

As for what you hear others ſay, who perſwade the Vulgar, that the Soul, when once freed from the Body, ſuffers no inconvenience or Evil, nor is ſenſible at all, I know what you are better grounded in the Doctrins delivered down to us from our Anceſtors, as alſo in the Sacred Myſteries of *Bacchus*, than to believe ſuch Stories; for, the Religious Symbols are well known to us who are of the Fraternity. Therefore be aſſured, that the Soul, being incapable of Death, ſuffers in the ſame manner as Birds that are kept in a Cage. For, if ſhe has been a long time educated and cheriſhed in the Body, and by long Cuſtom has been made familiar with moſt Things of this Life, ſhe will (though ſeparable) return again, and at length enter the Body; nor ceaſeth it by new Births now and then to be entangled in the Chances and Events of this Life. For, do not think that Old Age, is therefore evil ſpoken of and blamed, becauſe it is accompanied with Wrinkles, Gray-Hairs and Weakneſs of Body: but this is the moſt troubleſom thing in Old Age, that it ſtaineth and corrupteth the Soul with the Remembrance of Things relating to the Body, to which ſhe was too much addicted; thus it bendeth and boweth, retaining that Form which it took of the Body. But that which is taken away in Youth, being more ſoft and tractable, ſoon returns to its native Vigor and Beauty; juſt like Fire that is quenched, which if it be forthwith kindled again, ſparkles and burns out immediately,

As ſoon as e're we take our Breath,
'Twere good to paſs the Gates of Death,

before

before too great a Love of bodily and earthly Things be engendred in the Soul, and it become ſoft and tender by being uſed to the Body, and, as it were, by Charms and Potions incorporated with it. But, the Truth of this will appear in the Laws and Traditions received from our Anceſtors: For, when any Children die, no Libations nor Sacrifices are made for them, nor any other of thoſe Ceremonies which are wont to be performed for the Dead. For, Infants have no part of Earth or Earthly Affections. Nor do they hover or tarry about their Sepulchres or Monuments, when their dead Bodies are expoſed. The Religion of our Country teaches us otherwiſe, and it is an Impious Thing not to believe what our Laws and Traditions aſſert, That the Souls of Infants paſs immediately into a better and more Divine State. Wherefore, ſince it is ſafer to give Credit to our Traditions, than to call them in Queſtion, let us comply with the Cuſtom in outward and publick Behaviour; and let our Interiour, be more unpoluted, pure and holy.

Of the three ſorts of Government, Monarchy, Democracy, *and* Oligarchy.

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by* R. Smith, M. A.

AS I was conſidering with my ſelf to bring forth and propoſe to the Judgment of this worthy Company the Diſcourſe I held Yeſterday in your Preſence, methoughts, I heard Political Vertue, I know not whether in the Illuſion of a Dream, or in a true and real Viſion, ſay thus to me:

A Golden Ground is laid for Sacred Songs.

We have already laid the Foundation of the Diſcourſe by perſwading and exhorting perſons to concern themſelves in managing the Affairs of the Common-weal; and now we proceed to build upon it the Doctrine, which

which is due after ſuch an Exhortation. For after a Man has receiv'd an Admonition and Exhortation to deal in the Affairs of the State, there ought conſequently to be given him Precepts of Government, following and obſerving which, he may, as much as 'tis poſſible for a Man to do, profit the Publick, and in the mean time honeſtly proſecute his own Affairs with ſuch Safety and Honour, as ſhall be meet for him.

There is firſt then one Point to be diſcours'd, which, as it is precedent to what we have hereafter to ſay, ſo it depends on what we have already ſaid before. Now this is, What ſort of *Policy* and Government is beſt? For as there are many ſorts of Lives in particular Men, ſo alſo are there in People and States; and the Life of a People or State is its *Policy* and Government. 'Tis therefore neceſſary to declare, which is the beſt, that a Stateſman may chooſe it from among the reſt, or, if that is poſſible for him to do, he may at leaſt take that which has the neareſt Reſemblance to the beſt.

Now there is one Signification of this Word *Policy*, which imports as much as *Burgeſs-ſhip*, that is a Participation in the Rights and Privileges, belonging to a Town, City or Borough: As when we ſay, that the *Megarians* by an Edict of their City preſented *Alexander* the great with their Policy, that is, their *Burgeſs-ſhip*, and that, *Alexander* laughing at the Offer they made him of it, they anſwer'd him, that they had never decreed that Honour to any but *Hercules*, and now to himſelf. This he wondring to hear, accepted their Preſent, thinking it honourable, inaſmuch as it was rare. The Life alſo of a Political Perſon, who is concern'd in the Government of the Common-weal, is call'd *Policy*, as when we praiſe the *Policy* of *Pericles* or *Bias*, that is, the manner of their Government; and on the contrary, blame that of *Hyperbolus* and *Cleon*. Some moreover there are, who call a great and memorable Action, perform'd in the Adminiſtration of a Common-weal, a *Policy*, ſuch as is the Diſtribution of Money, the Suppreſſing of a War, the Introduction of ſome notable

notable Decree, worthy to be kept in perpetual Memory. In which Signification 'tis a common manner of ſpeaking to ſay, *This Man to day has done a* Policy, if he has peradventure effected ſome remarkable Matter in the Government of the State.

Beſides all theſe Significations there is yet another, that is, the Order and State by which a Common-weal is govern'd, and by which Affairs are manag'd and adminiſtred. According to which we ſay that there are three ſorts of *Policy*, or Public Government, to wit, *Monarchy*, which is Regality or Kingſhip; *Oligarchy*, which is the Government by Peers and Nobles; and *Democracy*, which is a popular, or, as we term it, a free State. Now all theſe are mention'd by *Herodotus* in his third Book, where he compares them one with another. And theſe to be the moſt general of all: For that all other Sorts are, as it were, the Depravation and Corruption of theſe, either by Defect, or Exceſs; as it is in the firſt Conſonances of Muſic, when the Strings are either too ſtreight, or too ſlack.

Now theſe Three Sorts of Government have been diſtributed amongſt the Nations, that have had the greateſt Empire, or greater then any other. Thus the *Perſians* enjoy'd Regality or Kingſhip, becauſe their King had full abſolute Power in all things, without being lyable to render an Account to any one. The *Spartans* had a Council, conſiſting of a ſmall Number, and thoſe the beſt and moſt conſiderable Perſons in the City, who diſpacht all Affairs. The *Athenians* maintain'd popular Government, free and exempt from any other Mixture. In which Adminiſtration, when there are any Faults, their Tranſgreſſions and Exorbitances are ſtyl'd Tyrannies, Oppreſſions of the Stronger, unbridled Licentiouſneſs of the Multitude. That is, when the Prince, who has the Royalty, permits himſelf to outrage whom ever he pleaſes, and will not ſuffer any Remonſtrance to be made him concerning it, he becomes a Tyrant: When a few Lords or Senators, in whoſe Hands the Government

Government is, arrive at that Arrogance as to contemn all others, they turn Oppreſſors: And when a popular State breaks forth into Diſobedience and Levelling, it runs into Anarchy and unmeaſurable Liberty: And in a word, all of them together will be Raſhnes and Folly.

Even then as a skilful Muſician will make uſe of all ſorts of Inſtruments, and play on every one of them, accommodating himſelf in ſuch manner, as its Quality can bear, and as ſhall be fit to make it yield the ſweeteſt Sound; But yet, if he will follow *Plato*'s Counſel, he will lay aſide *Fiddles*, many ſtring'd *Virginals*, *Pſalteries* and *Harps*, preferring before all other the *Lute* and *Bandore*. In like manner, an able Stateſman will dextrouſly manage the *Laconic*, and *Lycurgian* Seignory, or *Oligarchy*, fitting and accommodating his Companions who are of equal Authority with him, and by little and little drawing and reducing them to be manag'd by himſelf: He will alſo carry himſelf diſcreetly in a Popular State, as if he had to deal with an Inſtrument of many and differently ſounding Strings, one while letting down and remitting ſome things, and again extending others, as he ſhall ſee his Opportuntiy, and find it moſt convenient for the Government, to which he will vigorouſly apply himſelf, well knowing when and how he ought to reſiſt and contradict; but yet, if he might be permitted to make his Choice from amongſt all ſorts of Government, as from ſo many Muſical Inſtruments, he would not, if *Plato*'s Advice might be taken, chooſe any other but Monarchy, or Regal Authority, as being that, which is indeed only able to ſupport that moſt perfect and moſt lofty Note of Vertue, without ſuffering him, either by Force, or by Grace and Favour, to frame himſelf for Advantage and Gain. For all other ſorts of Governments do in a manner as much rule a Stateſman, as he does them; no leſs carrying him, than they are carry'd by him; foraſmuch as he has no certain Power over thoſe, from whom he has his Authority; but is very often conſtrain'd to cry out in theſe

Words

Words of the Poet *Æſchylus*, which King *Demetrius* Sirnamed the *Town-taker*, often alledg'd againſt Fortune, after he had loſt his Kingdom,

Thou mad'ſt me firſt, and now undoeſt me quite.

Whether the Athenians *were more renown'd for their Warlike Atchievements, or for their Learning.*

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by the ſame Hand.*

THeſe things he rightly ſpoke to the Commanders that accompany'd him, to whom he open'd the way for future Performances, while he expell'd the *Barbarians*, and reſtor'd *Greece* to her Ancient Liberty. And the ſame thing may be ſaid to thoſe that magnifie themſelves for their Writings. For if there were none to act, there would be none to write. Take away the Political Government of *Pericles*, and the Navel Trophies of *Formio* at *Rium*, and the brave Atchievements of *Nicias* at *Cythera*, *Megara* and *Corinth*, *Demoſthenes*'s *Pylum*, and the four hundred Captives taken by *Cleo*, *Tolmias* Sailing round the *Peleponneſus*, and *Myronidas* vanquiſhing the *Bœotians* in the Vine-yards, and you Murther *Thucydides*. Take away the youthful Braveries of *Alcibiades* in the *Helleſpont*, and of *Thraſyllus* near *Lesbos*, and the Diſſolution of the *Oligarchy* by *Theramenes*, *Thraſybulus* and *Archippus*, and the ſeventy that from *Phyla* ventur'd to attack the *Lacademonian* Tyranny, and *Canon* again enforcing *Athens* to take the Sea, and then there's an end of *Cratippus*. For as for *Xenophon*, he was his own Hiſtorian, relating how he lead and govern'd the Army under his Command, and *Themiſtogenes* the *Syracuſian* wrote the ſame Story over again, Dedicating the Honour of his Writing to another; that writing of himſelf as of another, he might gain the more Credit: But all the other Hiſtorians, as the *Clinodemi*,

Clinodemi, *Dyuli*, *Philocherus*, *Philarchus*, were but the Actors of other Mens *Amours*, as of ſo many Plays, while they compil'd the Acts of Kings and great Generals, and thruſting themſelves into the Memory of their Fame, partake of a kind of Luſtre and Light from them. For there is a certain ſhadow of Glory which reflects from thoſe that act, to thoſe that write, while the Actions of another appear in the Diſcourſe as in a *Mirrour*.

But this City was the Mother and charitable Nurſe of many other Arts and Sciences, ſome of which ſhe firſt invented and illuſtrated; to others ſhe gave both Efficacy, Honour and Increaſe: More eſpecially to her is Painting beholding for its firſt Invention and the Perfection to which it has attain'd. For *Apollodorus* the Painter, who was the firſt that invented the heightning and ſoftning of Shadows, was an *Athenian*. Over whoſe Works there is this Inſcription,

'Tis no hard thing to reprehend me;
But let the Men that blame me, mend me

Then for *Euphanor*, *Nikias*, *Aſchepiodorus*, and *Pleſtænelus*, the Brother of *Phidias*, ſome of them painted the Victories, others the Battles of great Generals, and ſome of the *Heroes* themſelves. Thus *Euphanor*, comparing his own *Theſeus* with another drawn by *Parrhaſius*, ſaid that *Parrharſius's Theſeus* eat Roſes, but his fed upon Beef. For indeed *Parrharſius's Piece* was ſomewhat ſoftly and effeminately painted, and perhaps it might be ſomething like the Original. But he that beheld *Euphranor's Theſeus*, might well ſay,

Who's Here, the brave and bold Erechtheu's *Son*
Whom Pallas *bred, and cheriſh'd as her own?*

Euphranor alſo painted the Battle of *Mantinea* fought by the Cavalry, between the *Lacedemonians* and *Epaminondas*. The Story was thus. The *Theban Epaminondas* puft up with his Victory at *Leuctræ*, and deſigning to inſult and trample over falling *Sparta*, and the Glory of that City, with an Army of Seventy Thou-

 ſand

ſand Men, invaded and laid waſte the *Lacedemonian* Territory, ſtirr'd up the Neighbouring Cities to revolt, and not far from *Mantinea* provok'd the *Spartans* to Battle; but they neither being willing, nor indeed daring to encounter him, being in expectation of a reinforcement from *Athens*, *Epaminondas* diſlodg'd in the night time, and with all the Secreſie imaginable fell into the *Lacedæmonian* Territory; and miſs'd but little of taking *Sparta* it ſelf, being deſtitute of Men to Defend it, had not the Allies of the *Lacedemonians* made haſte to its Relief. Thereupon *Epaminondas* made a ſhew as if he would again return to ſpoyling and laying waſte the Country; and by this means deceiving and amuſing his Enemies, he Retreats out of *Laconia* by Night, and with ſwift Marches coming upon the *Mantineans* unexpectedly, at what time they were deliberating to ſend Relief to *Sparta*, preſently Commanded the *Thebans* to prepare to Storm the Town. As ſoon, the *Thebans*, who had a great Conceit of the Warlike Furniture, took their ſeveral Poſts, and began to ſurround the City. This put the *Mantineans* into a diſmal Conſternation, and fill'd the whole City with dreadful Out cries and Hurly-burly, as being neither able to withſtand ſuch a Torrent of Armed Men, ready to ruſh in upon them, nor having any hopes of Succour.

But at the ſame time, and by good Fortune, the *Athenians* came down from the Hills into the Plains of *Mantniea*, not knowing any thing of the Critical Moment that requir'd more ſpeedy haſte, but marching leiſurely along. However ſo ſoon as they were inform'd of the danger of their Allies, by one that ſcouted out from the reſt, tho' but few in reſpect of the number of their Enemies, ſingle of themſelves, and tir'd with their March; yet they preſently drew up into Battalia, and the Cavalry charging up to the very Gates of *Mantinea*, there happen'd a terrible Battle between the Horſe on both ſides, wherein the *Athenians* got the better; and ſo ſav'd *Mantinea out of Epaminondas*'s Hands. This Conflict was Painted by *Euphranor*, and you ſee in the Picture with what ſtrength, what fury and vigour they

they fought. And yet I do not believe that any one will compare the Judgment of the Painter with that of the General; or would endure that any one ſhould prefer the *Picture* before the *Trophy*, or the imitation before the Truth it ſelf. Though indeed *Simonides* calls Painting ſilent Poetry, and Poetry Speaking Painting. For thoſe Actions which Painters ſet forth as they were doing, thoſe Hiſtory relates as they were done. And what the one ſets forth in Colours and Figures, the other relates in Words and Sentences; only they differ in the Materials and manner of Imitation. However both aim at the ſame end, and he is accompted the beſt Hiſtorian who can make the moſt lively Deſcriptions both of Perſons and Paſſions. Therefore *Thucidides* always drives at this Perſpicuity, to make the clearer, as it were, a Spectator, and to inculcate the ſame Paſſions and Perturbations of Mind into his Readers, as they were in, that beheld the Cauſes of thoſe Effects. For *Demoſthenes* embattelling the *Athenians* near the Rocky Shoar of *Pyla*, *Bruſidas* haſtning the Pilate to put out to Sea; then going to the Rowers-ſeats, wounded, fainting and leaning on that part of the Veſſel where the Oars could not trouble him; the Land-fight of the *Spartans*, from the Sea, and the Sea-Engagement of the *Athenians* from the Land; then again in the *Sicilian War*, both a Land-Fight and Sea-Engagement, ſo fought that neither had the better, all theſe things are ſo lively and ſenſibly deſcric'd, that the Reader feels almoſt the ſame Motions and Contentions of the Body, as if he had been preſent and beheld the Actions themſelves. So that if we may not compare Painters with Generals, neither muſt we equal Hiſtorians to them.

Therſippus the *Eroenſian* brought the firſt News of the Victory at *Marathron*, as *Heraclides* of *Pontus* relates. But moſt report, that *Eucles* running Armed with his Wounds reeking from the Fight, and falling through the Door into the firſt Houſe he met, expir'd with only theſe Words in his Mouth, *God ſave ye, we are well.* Now this Man brought the News himſelf of the ſucceſs of a

Fight wherein he was preſent in Perſon. But ſuppoſe that any of the Goat-keepers or Herd-men had beheld the Combat from ſome High-hill, at a diſtance, and ſeeing the ſucceſs of that great Atchievement, and greater than by Words can be expreſt, ſhould have come to the City, without any Wound or Blood about him, and ſhould have claim'd the Honours done to *Cinegyrus*, *Callimachus* and *Polyzetus*, for giving an Account of their Wounds, their Bravery and Deaths, wouldſt thou not have thought him Impudent above Impudence it ſelf? Seeing that the *Lacedemonians* gave the Meſſenger that brought the News of the Victory at *Mantinea*, no other reward, than a quantity of Victuals from the * *Phidition*. But Hiſtorians are, as it were, well voic'd Relators of the Actions of Great Men, who add Grace and Beauty, and Dint of wit to their Relations, and to whom they that firſt light upon them and read them, are indebted for their pleaſing Tydings. And being read, they are applauded for tranſmitting to Poſterity the Actions of thoſe that do bravely. For Words do not make Actions, though we give them the Hearing. But there is a certain Grace and Glory of the Compiling Part, when it reſembles the Grandeur of the Actions themſelves. According to that of *Homer*,

* Place where the *Lacedæmonians* Banqueted in publick with great Parcimony and Frugality.

And many falſities he did unfold,
That look'd like Truth, ſo ſmoothly were they told.

It is reported alſo, that when one of his Familiar Friends ſhould ſay to *Menander*, *The Feaſts of Bacchus are at hand, and thou haſt made nc'er a Comedy*, he made him this Anſwer, By all the Gods I have made a Comedy, for I have laid my Plot; and there remains only to make the Verſes and Meaſures to it. So that the Poets themſelves believe the Actions to be more neceſſary than the Words, and the firſt things to be conſidered. *Corinna* likewiſe, when *Pindar* was but a Young Man, and made too daring a uſe of his Eloquence, gave him this Admonition, that he was no Poet, for that he ne-

ver compos'd any Fables, which was the chiefeſt Office of Poetry. In regard that Elocution, Figures, Metaphors, Songs and Meaſures, were invented to give a ſweetneſs to Things. Which Admonition *Pindar* laying up in his Mind, wrote a certain Ode which thus begins,

Shall I Iſmenus *Sing,*
Or Melia, *that from Spindles all of Gold*
Her twiſted Yarn unwinds,
Or Cadmus, *that moſt ancient King,*
Or elſe the Sacred Race of Spartans *Bold,*
Or Hercules, *that far in Strength tranſcends*

Which when he ſhew'd to *Corinna*, with a ſmile, when you ſow, ſaid ſhe, you muſt ſcatter the Seed with your hand, not empty the whole Sack at once. And indeed we find that *Pindar* intermixes in his Poetick Numbers a Collection of all ſorts of Fables. Now that Poetry employs it ſelf in Mythology is agreed by *Plato* likewiſe. For a Fable is the Relation of a falſe Story, reſembling Truth; and therefore very remote from real Actions, for relation is the Image of Action, as Fable is the Image of Relation. And therefore they that feign Actions, are as different from Hiſtorians, as they that ſpeak differ from thoſe that act.

Athens therefore never bred up any true Artiſt in Poetry or Lyric Verſe. For *Cneſias* was a troubleſome Writer of *Dithyrambicks*: A Perſon of mean Parentage and of no Repute; and being jeer'd and derided by the *Comedians*, prov'd very unfortunate in the Purſuit of Fame.

Now for the Dramatic Poets, ſome of them look'd upon Comedy to be ſo ignoble and troubleſome, that the *Areopagites* publiſh'd a Law that no Man ſhould make any Comedies. But *Tragedy* flouriſh'd, and was cry'd up, and with wonder and admiration heard and beheld by all People in thoſe days, deceiving them with Fables and the diſplay of various Paſſions; whereby, as *Gorgias* ſays, he that deceiv'd, was more Juſt than the Deceiver; and he that was deceiv'd, wiſer than he who deceiv'd. He that deceiv'd was more juſt becauſe it was no more than what he pretended to do: And he that

was deceiv'd was wiſer; for that he muſt be a Man of no Senſe, that is not taken with the ſweetneſs of Words. And yet what Benefit did thoſe fine Tragedies procure the *Athenians*? But the ſhrewdneſs and cunning of *Themiſtocles* wall'd the City; the Induſtry of *Pericles* adorned their Arſenal, and *Cimon* advanc'd them to command their Neighbours. But as for the Wiſdom of *Euripines*, the Eloquence of *Sophocles*, the lofty Stile of *Eſchylus*, what Calamity did they avert from the City? Or what renown or Fame did they bring to the *Athenians*? Is it fitting that Dramatic Poems ſhould be compar'd with Trophies, or Scholaſtic Diſcipline with Noble Atchievements? Would ye that we ſhould introduce the Men themſelves carrying before them the Marks and Signals of their own Actions, permitting them double entrance like the Actors upon the ſtage? But then it would be requiſite that the Poets ſhould go before them, ſaying and ſinging, A *Panegyric*, *Gentlemen*, *Curious Words*, give way to us whoever he be that underſtands not Encomiums of this Nature, that has not a pure Tongue, that never ſang the Orgies of the High-born Muſes, nor ever officiated at the Bacchanals of the Bull devouring Deity. And then there muſt be Scenes and Vizards, and Altars and Verſatil Machines. There muſt be alſo the Tragedy-Actors, the *Nicoſtrati*, *Callipidæ*, *Mneſtiſci*, *Theodory*, *Poli*, the Dreſſers, and Sedan men of Tragedy, like thoſe of ſome ſumptuouſly apparell'd Lady, or rather like the Painters, Guilders and Colourers of Statues, together with a coſtly preparation of Veſſels, Vizards, Purple-Coats and Machines, attended by an unruly Rabble of Dancers and Guards; which a *Lacedæmonians* once beholding, not improperly ſaid he, *How* ſtrangely are the *Athenians* miſtaken, conſuming ſo much coſt and labour upon Ridiculous Trifles; that is to ſay, waſting the Expences of Navies, and Victualing whole Armies upon the Stage. For if you compute the coſt of thoſe Dramatic Preparations, you will find that the *Athenians* ſpent more upon their *Bacchæ*, *Oidipodæ*, *Antigones*, *Medeas* and *Electras*, than in their Wars againſt the *Barbarians* for Liberty,

Liberty, and extending their Empire. For their Generals oft-times led forth the Souldiers to Battle, commanding them only to make Proviſions of ſuch Food, as needed not the tedious preparation of Fire. And indeed their Admirals and Captains of their Ships went a Board without any other Proviſion than Meal, Oinons and Cheeſe. Whereas the Maſters of the *Chorus*'s, feeding their Dancers with Eels, Letttice, the Kernels of Garlic, and Marrow, feaſted for a long time, exerciſing their Voices and pleaſing their Palats by turns. And as for theſe if they were overcome, it was their misfortune to be contemn'd and hiſt'd at. And for the Victors, there was neither *Tripos*, nor conſecrated Ornament of Victory, as *Demetrius* calls it, but a life prolong'd among Cables, and an empty Houſe for a Tomb. For this is the Tribute of Poetry, and there is nothing more ſplendid to be expected from it.

Now then let us conſider the Great Generals going thither, to whom ſo ſoon as they paſs'd by us, we muſt riſe up and pay our Salutations, eſpecially thoſe who being never Famous for any great Action, Military or Civil, were never furniſhed with daring boldneſs, nor experience in ſuch Enterprizes, nor initiated by the hand of *Militiades* that overthrew the *Medes*, or *Themiſtocles* that vanquiſht the *Perſians*. This is the Martial-gang, combating ſometimes with *Phalanxes* by Land, and engaging with *Navies* by Sea, and laden with the ſpoils of both. Give ear *Enyo*, the Daughter of War, to this ſame Prologue of Swords and Spears.

Haſten to Death, when for your Country vow'd.

As *Epaminondas* ſaid, for your Country, your Sepulchers, and your Altars throwing your ſelves into moſt Noble and Illuſtrious Combats. The Victors of which methinks I ſee aproaching toward me, not dragging after them a Goat or Ox for a reward, nor crown'd with Ivy, and ſmelling of the Dregs of Wine. But whole Cities, Iſlands, Continents and Colonies well peopled are their rewards, being ſurrounded with Tro-

phies and Spoils of all ſorts. Whoſe Statues and Symbols of Honour are * *Parthenons*, a hundred furlongs in length, South-walls, Roads for Ships, the paſs of *Thermopyle*, the *Cherſoneſus* and *Amphipolis*. *Marathon* diſplays the Victory of *Miltiades*, and *Salamis* the Glory of *Themiſtocles*, triumphing over the Ruins of a thouſand Veſſels. The Victory of *Conon* brings away the *Phœnician* Galleys from *Eurymedon*. And the Victory of *Cleo* and *Demoſthenes*, brings away the ſhield of *Braſidas*, and his Captive Souldiers in Chains from *Sphactria*. The Victory of *Conon* and *Thraſybulus* walls the City, and brings the People back at liberty, from *Phyla*. The Victory of *Alcibiades* near *Sicily* reſtores the languiſhing condition of the City; and *Greece* beheld *Ionia* rais'd again by the Victories of *Neleus* and *Androclus*, in *Lydia* and *Caria*. If you ask what benefit every one of the reſt procur'd to the City? One will anſwer *Lesbos*, another *Samos*, another *Cyprus*, another the *Pontus Euxinus*, another five hundred Galleys with three Banks of Oars, another ten thouſand Talents, the rewards of Fame and Trophices won. For theſe Victories the City obſerves Publick Anniverſary Feſtivals; for theſe Victories ſhe Sacrifices to the Gods; not for the Victories of *Eſchylus* and *Sophocles*; not becauſe *Cycinus* lay with *Aerope*, or becauſe *Aſtydamas* was familiar with *Hector*. But upon the ſixth of *Auguſt* even to this day, the *Athenians* celebrate a Feſtival in memory of the Fight at *Marathon*. Upon the ſixteenth of the ſame Month the Conduits run Wine in remembrance of the Naval Victory won by *Chabrias* near *Naxos*. Upon the twelfth they offer thankſgiving Sacrifices for the recovery of their Liberty. For upon that day they return'd back from *Phyla*. The third of the ſame Month they won the Battle of *Platæa*. The ſixteenth of *March* was Conſecrated to *Diana*, the Moon appear'd in the Full to the *Greeks* Victorious at *Salamis*. The twelfth of *May* was made ſacred by the Battle

* A *Premontory* ſhouting into the Black Sea, where ſtood a Chappel dedicated to ſome Virgin Godhead, and famous for ſome Victory thereabout obtain'd,

Battle of *Mantinea*, wherein the *Athenians*, when their Confederates were routed and fled, alone by themſelves obtain'd the Victory and Triumph over their Victorious Enemies, ſuch Actions as theſe procur'd Honour and Veneration and Grandeur to the City. For theſe Acts it was that *Pindar* call'd *Athens* the Support of *Greece*; not becauſe the *Greeks* were aggrandiz'd by the Tragedies of *Phrynichus* and *Theſpis*; but becauſe, as he ſays, near *Artimiſium* the *Athenian* Youth the firſt Foundation of their Freedom lay'd; and afterwards fixing it upon the *Adamantine* Pillars of *Salamis*, *Mycale* and *Platea*, multiply'd their felicity to others. But as for the Writings of the Poets they are meer Baubles. But Rhetoricians and Orators indeed have ſomething in them that renders them in ſome meaſure fit to be compar'd with great Captains. For which reaſon, *Æſchines* deriding *Demoſthenes*, is reported to have ſaid of him, that he had commenc'd a Suit between Oratory and the Art of conducting an Army. But for all that, do you think it proper to prefer the *Plataick* Oration of *Hyperides*, to the Victory of *Ariſtides*? Or the Oration of *Lyſias* againſt the thirty Tyrants, to the Acts of *Thraſibulus* and *Archias* that put them to Death? Or that of *Æſchines* againſt *Timarchus* for *Whoring*, before the relieving of *Byzantium* by *Phocion*, by which he prevented the Sons of the Confederates from being the Scorn and Deriſion of the *Macedonians*? Or ſhall we compare the Oration of *Demoſthenes* concerning a Crown before the publick Crowns which he receiv'd for ſetting *Greece* at Liberty, wherein the *Rhetorician* has behav'd himſelf moſt ſplendidly and learnedly, ſwearing by the Progenitors of thoſe that ventur'd their Lives at *Marathon* for the Liberty of *Greece*, rather than by thoſe that inſtructed Youth in the Schools; among which were *Iſocrates*, *Antiphontes*, and the *Iſæi*? All which the City buried at the Expences of the Public, honouring the Sacred Relics of their Bodies, and tranſlating thoſe renowned *Herbes* into the number of the Gods; and by theſe it was that the Orator choſe to ſwear, tho' he could not follow their Example. *Iſocrates* alſo

alſo was wont to ſay, that they who ventur'd their Lives at *Marathon*, fought as if they had been inſpir'd with other Souls than their own; and extolling their daring Boldneſs and Contempt of Life, to one that askt him being at that time very aged, *How he did?* As well, ſaid he, as one who being now above Fourſcore Years old, eſteems Death to be the beſt of Evils. For neither did he ſpend his years in whetting his Sword, in grinding and ſharpning his Sphear, in ſcouring and poliſhing his Helmet, in commanding Navies and Armies, but in knitting and joyning together Oppoſites, Adequates, and like Caſes, and ſmoothing and adapting of Periods and Sentences; only that he did not make uſe of Files, Plainers or Chizzels. How would that Man have been affrighted at the clattering of Weapons, or the routing of a *Phalanx*, who was ſo afraid of ſuffering one Vowel to claſh with another, or to pronounce a word where the ſyllables were uneven. *Miltades*, the very next day after the Battle of *Marathon*, return'd a Victor to the City with his Army. And *Pericles* having ſubdu'd the *Samians* in Nine Months, derided *Agamemnon* that was Ten Years taking of *Troy*. But *Iſocrates* was no leſs than three Olympiads (or fifteen Years) in writing a Panegyric, in all which time he had neither been a General, nor an Embaſſador, neither built a City nor been an Admiral? Notwithſtanding the many Wars that harraſs'd *Greece* within that time. But while *Timotheus* freed *Eubœa* from Slavery, while *Chabrias* vanquiſh'd the Enemy near *Naxus*, while *Iphicrates* defeated and cut to pieces a whole Battalion of the *Lacedæmonians*; at what time the *Athenians* having ſhaken off the *Spartan* Yoke, ſet the reſt of *Greece* at Liberty; with as ample Priveledges to give their Voices in the general Aſſemblies of the whole Nation, as they had themſelves, he ſits poring at Home in his Study, ſeeking out proper Phraiſes and choice Words for his Oration; during which time *Pericles* had erected ſtately Porticoes, and the goodly Temple *Hecatonpedes*. Tho the Comic Poet *Cratinus* ſeems to deride even *Pericles* himſelf, as one that was none of the quickeſt, where he ſays,

In words the mighty Pericles
Has rais'd us up a Wall;
But 'tis a Wall in only Words,
For we ſee none at all.

Conſider now the poor Spirit of this great Orator, who ſpent the ninth part of his Life in compiling one ſingle Oration. But to ſay no more of him, is it rational to compare the Harangues of *Demoſthenes*, as he was an Orator, with the Martial Exploits of *Demoſthenes*, when a great Leader. For example, that which he made to ſet forth the inconſiderate folly of *Conon* with the Trophies which himſelf erected before *Pylæ*: Or his Declamation againſt *Amathuſius*, concerning *Slaves*, with the noble Service which he perform'd in reducing the *Lacedæmonians* to Slavery. Neither can it be ſaid, becauſe he compos'd an Oration for granting the Freedom of *Athens* to all that came to inhabit there, that he therefore deſerv'd as much honour as *Alcibiades*, who made one People of the *Mantineans* and *Elians*, and joyn'd them Confederates with the *Athenians* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. And yet we muſt acknowledge that the Public Orations of *Demoſthenes* deſerve Applauſe, and particularly his *Philippics*, in which he bravely encourages the *Athenians* to take Arms, aud extols the Enterprize of *Leptines*.

Againſt running in Debt, or taking up Money upon Uſury

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by the ſame Hand.*

PLATO in his Laws permits not any one to go and draw Water from his Neighbours Well who has not firſt digg'd and ſunk a Pit in his own Ground, till he is come to a Vein of Clay and has by his Sounding experimented, that the Place will not yield a Spring, becauſe the Clay or Potter Earth being

being of its own Nature, fatty, ſolid and ſtrong, retains the Moiſture it receives, and will not let it ſoak or pierce thro': But it muſt be lawful for them to take Water from anothers Ground, when there is no Way or Means for them, to find any in their own: For the Law ought to provide for Mens Neceſſity, but not favor their Lazineſs. The like Ordinance there ſhould be alſo concerning Money: That none ſhould be allow'd to borrow upon Uſury, nor to go and dive into other Mens Purſes, as it were into their Wells and Fountains before they have firſt ſearch'd at home, and ſounded every Means for the obtaining it; having collected, as it it were, and gather'd together all the Gutters and Springs, to try, if they can draw from them, what may ſuffice to ſupply their moſt neceſſary Occaſions. But on the contrary, many there are, who, to defray their idle Expences, and to ſatisfie their extravagant and ſuperfluous Delights, make not uſe of their own, but have recourſe to others, running themſelves deeply into Debt without any Neceſſity. Now this may eaſily be judg'd, if one does but conſider, that Uſurers do not ordinarily lend to thoſe which are in Diſtreſs; but only to ſuch, as deſire to obtain, and get ſomewhat, that is ſuperfluous, and of which they ſtand not in need: So that the Credit, given by the Lender, is a Teſtimony, ſufficiently proving, that the Borrower has of his own; whereas on the contrary, ſince he has of his own, he ought to keep himſelf from borrowing.

Why ſhould'ſt thou go and make thy Court to a Banker or a Merchant? Borrow from thine own Table. Thou haſt Tankards, Diſhes and Baſons of Silver: Make uſe of them for thy Neceſſity, and, when they are gone to ſupply thy Wants, the pleaſant Town of *Aulis*, or Iſle of *Tenedos* will again refurniſh thy Board with fair Veſſels of Earth, far more cleanly and neat than thoſe of Silver: For they are not ſcented with the ſtrong and unpleaſant Smell of Uſury, which like Ruſt, daily more and more ſullies and tarniſhes the Luſtre of thy Sumptuous Magnificence: They will not be every day putting thee in mind of the Calends,

and

and new Moons, which being of themſelves the moſt holy and ſacred Days of the Months, are by reaſon of Uſuries rendred the moſt odious and accurs'd. For as to thoſe, who chuſe rather to carry their Goods to the Brokers, and there lay them in Pawn for Money, taken upon Uſury, then to ſell them out-right, I do not believe, that *Jupiter Cteſius* himſelf can preſerve them from Beggary. They are aſham'd forſooth to receive the full Price and Value of their Goods; but they are not aſham'd to pay Uſe for the Money, they have borrow'd on them. And yet the great and wiſe *Pericles* caus'd that coſtly Robe of fine Gold, weighing about forty Talents, with which *Minerva*'s Statue was adorn'd, to be made in ſuch a manner, that he could take it on and off at his Pleaſure; *To the end*, ſaid he, *that when we ſhall ſtand in need of Money to ſupport the Charges of an expenſive War, we may take it, and make uſe of it on ſo weighty an Occaſion, putting again afterwards in its place another of no leſs Price and Value than the former.* Thus ought we in our Affairs, as in a Beſieged Town, never to admit or receive the hoſtile Garriſon of an Uſurer, nor to endure before our Eyes the Delivering up of our Goods into perpetual Servitude; but rather to cut off from our Table, what is neither neceſſary nor profitable, and in like manner from our Beds, our Couches, and our ordinary Expences, ſo to keep our ſelves free and at Liberty, in hopes to reſtore again, what we ſhall have retrench'd, if Fortune ſhall hereafter ſmile upon us. The *Roman* Ladies heretofore willingly parted with their Jewels and Ornaments of Gold for the making a Cup, to be ſent as an offering to the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* in the City of *Delphi*. And the *Carthaginian* Matrons did with their own Hands cut the Hair from their Heads, to make Cords for the managing of their Warlike Engins and Inſtruments, in defence of their Beſieged City. But we, as if we were aſham'd of being able to ſtand on our own Legs, and without being ſupported by the Aſſiſtance of others, go and enſlave our ſelves by Engagements and Obligations, whereas it were much

better,

better, that reſtraining our Honour, and confining it to what is profitable for us, we ſhould of our Plate which we ſhould either melt, or ſell, build a Temple of Liberty for our ſelves, our Wives, and our Children.

The Goddeſs *Diana* in the City of *Epheſus* gives to ſuch Debtors, as can fly into her Temple, Freedom and Protection againſt their Creditors: But the Sanctuary of Parſimony and Moderation in Expences, into which no Uſurer can enter, to pluck thence, and carry away any Debtor Priſoner, is always open for the Wife, and affords them a long and large Space of joyful and honourable Repoſe. For as the Propheteſs which gave Oracles in the Temple of the *Pythian Apollo* about the Time of the *Median* Wars, anſwer'd the *Athenians*, that God had for their Safety given them a Wall of Wood, upon which forſaking their Lands their City, their Houſes and all their Goods, they had recourſe to their Ships for the Preſervation of their Liberty: So God gives us a Table of Wood, Veſſels of Earth, and Garments of courſe Cloth, if we deſire to live and continue in Freedom:

Aim not at gilded Coaches, Steeds of Price,
And Harneſs, richly wrought with quaint Device.

For how ſwiftly ſoever they may run, yet will Uſurie over-take them, and out-run them.

Take rather the firſt Aſs thou ſhalt meet, or the firſt Pack-horſe, that ſhall come in thy way, and fly from that cruel and tyrannical Enemy the Uſurer, who aſks thee not Fire and Water, as heretofore did the Barbarous King of *Perſia*, but, which is worſe, touches thy Liberty, wounds thy Honour by Proſcriptions, and ſets thy Goods to Sale by out-cry. If thou payſt him not, he troubles thee; if thou haſt wherewithal to ſatisfie him, he will not receive it, unleſs it be his Pleaſure. If thou ſell'ſt, he will have thy Goods for nothing or at a very under rate; and if thou wilt not ſell, he will force thee to it: If thou ſueſt him, he ſpeaks to thee of an Accommodation; if thou ſwear'ſt to give him

him Content, he will domineer over thee: If thou goeſt to his Houſe, to diſcourſe with him, he ſhuts his Door againſt thee; if thou ſtay'ſt at home, he is always knocking at thy Door, and will never ſtir from thee. Of what uſe to the *Athenians* was the Decree of *Solon*, by which he ordain'd, that the Body ſhould not be oblig'd for any Publick Debt: For they, who owe, are in Bondage to all Bankers, and not to them alone (for then there would be no great hurt,) but to their very Slaves, who are Proud, Inſolent, Barbarous and Outragious, and in a word exactly ſuch, as *Plato* deſcribes the Devils and fiery Executioners to be, who in Hell torment the Souls of the Wicked. For thus do theſe wretched Uſurers make the Court, where Juſtice is adminiſtred, an Hell to the poor Debtors, preying on ſome, and gnawing them Vulture-like, to the very Bones, and

Piercing into their Entrails with ſharp Beaks;

and ſtanding over others, who are, like ſo many *Tantalus*'s, prohibited by them from taſting the Corn and Fruits of their own Ground, and drinking the Wine of their own Vintage. And as King *Darius* ſent to the City of *Athens* his Lieutenants *Datis* and *Artaphernes* with Chains and Cords, to bind the Priſoners, they ſhould take: So theſe Uſurers, bringing into *Greece* Boxes, full of Schedules, Bills and Obligatory Contracts, as ſo many Irons and Fetters for the Shackling of poor Criminals, go thro' the Cities, ſowing in them, as they paſs, not good and profitable Seed, as did heretofore *Triptolemus*, when he went thro' all Places, teaching the People to ſow Corn; but Roots and Grains of Debts, that produce infinite Labours and intolerable Uſuries, of which the End can never be found, and which, eating their way, and ſpreading their Sprouts round about, do in fine make Cities bend under the Burden, 'till they come to be ſuffocated. They ſay, that Hares at the ſame time ſuckle one young Leveret, are ready to kindle and bring forth another, and conceive a third: But the Uſuries of theſe

theſe Barbarous and Wicked Uſurers bring forth before they conceive: For at the very Delivery of their Money, they immediately ask it back, taking it up at the ſame moment they lay it down; and letting out that again to Intereſt, which they take and receive for the Uſe of what they had lent. 'Tis a Saying among the *Meſſenians*:

Gate before Gate, and ſtill a Gate behind:

But it may much better be ſaid againſt the Uſurers:

Uſe before Uſe, and ſtill more Uſe you'l find.

So that they laugh at thoſe natural Philoſophers, who hold, that Nothing can be made of Nothing, and of that which has no Exiſtence: For with them Uſury is made and engendred of that, which neither is, nor ever was. They think the Taking to farm the Cuſtoms and other Publick Tributes, which the Laws nevertheleſs permit, to be a Shame and Reproach: And yet themſelves on the contrary, in oppoſition to all the Laws in the World, make Men pay Tribute for what they lend upon Intereſt; or rather, if Truth may be ſpoken, do in the very letting out their Money to Uſe, baſely deceive their Debtor: For the poor Debtor, who receives leſs, than he acknowledges in his Obligation, is falſely and diſhoneſtly cheated. And the *Perſians* indeed repute Lying to be a Sin only in a ſecond Degree, but the firſt they repute to be in Debt: Foraſmuch as Lying frequently attends thoſe that owe. Now there are not in the whole World any People, who are oftner guilty of Lying than Uſurers, nor that practice more Unfruitfulneſs in their Day-books, in which they ſet down, that they have deliver'd ſuch a Sum of Money to ſuch a Perſon, to whom they have not given nigh ſo much. And the moving Cauſe of their Lying is pure Avarice not Want, or Poverty, but an inſatiable Deſire of always having more, the End of which is neither pleaſurable nor profitable to themſelves, but ruinous and deſtructive to thoſe, whom they injure. For they neither cultivate the Lands,

Lands, of which they deprive their Debtors, nor inhabit the Houſes, out of which they eject them, nor eat at the Tables, which they take away from them, nor wear the Clothes, of which they ſtrip them. But firſt one is deſtroy'd, and then a ſecond ſoon follows, being drawn on, and allur'd by the former. For the Miſchief ſpreads like Wild-fire, ſtill conſuming, and yet ſtill increaſing by the Deſtruction and Ruin of thoſe that fall into it, whom it devours one after another. And the Uſurer, who maintains this Fire, blowing and kindling it to the Undoing of ſo many People, reaps no other Advantage from it, but only that he now and then takes his Book of Accompts, and reads in it, how many poor Debtors he has caus'd to ſell what they had; how many he has diſpoſſeſs'd of their Lands and Livings; whence he came and whither he is gone by always turning winding and encreaſing his Money.

Think not, that I ſpeak this for any Ill-will or Enmity, that I have born againſt Uſurers:

For never did they drive away my Kine,
Or Horſes. — — — — — — —

But my only Aim is, to ſhew thoſe, who are ſo ready to take up Money upon Uſe, how much Shame and Slavery there is in it, and how it proceeds only from extream Folly, Sloth and Effeminacy of Heart. For if thou haſt of thine own, borrow not, ſince thou haſt no need of it; and if thou haſt nothing, borrow not, becauſe thou wilt not have any Means to pay. But let us conſider the one and the other apart. The Elder *Cato* ſaid to a certain Old Man, who behav'd himſelf ill: *My Friend, ſeeing old Age has of it ſelf ſo many Evils, why doeſt thou go about to add to them the Reproach and Shame of Wickedneſs?* In like manner will we ſay to a Man, oppreſs'd with Poverty: *Since Poverty has of it ſelf ſo many and ſo great Miſeries, do not heap upon them the Anguiſhes of borrowing and being in Debt. Take not from Poverty the only good Thing, in which it is ſuperior to Riches, to wit, Freedom from penſive Care.* Otherwiſe

therwiſe thou wilt ſubject thy ſelf to the Deriſion of the common Proverb, which ſays:

A Goat I cannot bear away,
Yet you an Ox upon me lay.

Thou canſt not bear Poverty, and yet thou art going to load on thy ſelf an Uſurer, which is a Burden, even to a Rich Man inſupportable.

But you will ſay perhaps, How then would you have me to live? Is this a Queſtion, fit for the to aſk, who haſt Hands, Feet and a Voice, who in brief art a Man, whoſe Property it is to love, and be belov'd, to do, and receive a Courteſie? Canſt thou not teach Grammar, bring up young Children, be a Porter or Door-keeper, travel by Sea, ſerve in a Ship? There is in all theſe nothing more ſhameful or odious, than to be dunn'd with the importunate Clamors of ſuch, as are always ſaying, *Pay me, give me my Money. Rutilius*, that rich *Roman*, coming one day to *Muſonius* the Philoſopher, whiſper'd him thus in his Ear: Muſonius, Jupiter *the* Saviour, *whom you Philoſophers profeſs to imitate and follow, takes not up Money at Intereſt. Muſonius* ſmiling preſently anſwer'd him: *Nor yet does he lend for Uſe.* For this *Rutilius*, who was himſelf an Uſurer, upbraided the other with borrowing upon Uſe. Now what a fooliſh Stoical Arrogance was this? For what need was there of bringing in here *Jupiter* the *Saviour*, when he might have given him the ſame Admonition by things that were familiar, and before his Eyes? Swallows run not themſelves into Debt, Ants borrow not upon Intereſt, and yet Nature has given them neither Reaſon, Hands, nor Art. But ſhe has endu'd them with ſuch Abundance of Underſtanding, that they maintain not only themſelves, but alſo Horſes, Dogs, Patridges, Hares, and Jays. Why then doſt thou condemn thy ſelf, as if thou wert leſs able to perſwade than a Jay more dumb then a Patridge, and more ungenerous than a Dog, in that thou canſt not oblige any Man to be aſſiſtant to thee either by ſervin° him, inſtructing him, delighting him, guarding him, or fighting in his Defence?

Doſt

Dost thou not see, how many occasions the Land, and how many the Sea affords thee, for thy Maintenance? Hear also what *Crates* says:

Here I saw Micylus *the Wool to card,*
Whil'st his Wife Spun, that they by Labour hard,
In these hard times might scape the hungry Jaws
Of Famine. ——— ——— ——— ———

King *Antigonus*, when he had not for a long time seen *Cleanthes* the Philosopher, said to him: *Doest thou yet, O* Cleanthes, *continue to grind? Yes Sir*, reply'd *Cleanthes, I still grind, and that I do to gain my Living, and not to depart from Philosophy.* How great and generous was the Courage of this Man, who, coming from the Mill and the Kneading Trough, did with the same Hand, which had been employ'd in turning the Stone, and moulding the Dough, write of the Nature of the Gods, Moon, Stars and Sun! And yet we think these to be servile Works.

Therefore, forsooth, that we may be free, we take up Money at interest, and to this purpose flatter base and servile Persons, wait on them, treat them, make them Presents, and pay them Pensions, and this we do, not being compell'd by Poverty (for no Usurer will lend a poor Man Money) but to gratifie our Prodigality. For if we would be content with such things, as are necessary for human Life, Usurers would be no less rare in the World, than *Centaurs* and *Gorgons*. But Luxury and Excess, as it produc'd Goldsmiths, Silversmiths, Perfumers and Diers of curious Colours, so has it also brought forth Usurers. For we run not into Debt for Bread and Wine, but for the purchasing of Stately Seats, numerous Slaves, fine Mules, costly Hangings, rich Tables, and for all those foolish and superfluous Expences, to which we frequently put our selves for the exibiting of plays to the people, or some such vain Ambition, from which we frequently reap no other Fruit but Ingratitude. Now he, that is once intangled in Usury, remains a Debtor all his Life, not unlike in his to the Horse, who, having once taken the Bridle

into his Mouth, and the Saddle on his Back, receives one Rider after another. Nor is there any Means for theſe Debtors to make their Eſcape into thoſe fair Paſtures and Meadows, which once they enjoy'd, but they wander about, like thoſe Dæmons, mention'd by *Empedocles* to have been driven out of Heaven by the offended Gods:

By the Skies Force they're thruſt into the Main,
Which to the Earth ſoon ſpues 'em back again:
Thence to bright Titan's *Orb they're forc'd to flye,*
And Titan *ſoon remits them to the Skye.*

In like manner do ſuch Men fall from the Hand of one Uſurer or Banker to another, ſometimes of a *Corinthian*, ſometimes of a *Patrian*, ſometimes of an *Athenian*, 'till having been deceiv'd and cheated by all, they finally find themſelves diſſipated and torn in pieces by Uſury. For as He, who is fallen into the Ditt muſt either riſe up and get out of it, or elſe lie ſtill in the Place, into which he firſt fell, for that by tumbling, turning, and rolling about, he does but ſtill more and more bemire himſelf: So alſo thoſe, who do but change their Creditor, and cauſe their Names to be tranſcrib'd from one Uſurers Book to anothers, do by loading and embroiling themſelves with new Uſuries, become more and more oppreſs'd. Now in this they properly reſemble Perſons diſtemper'd with Choler, who will not receive any Medicine, ſufficient to work a perfect Cure; but are continually taking away that which drops from the Cholerick Humor, and ſo make way for it to gather more and more: For in the ſame manner theſe Men are not willing to be cleans'd at once, but do with grievous Anguiſh and Sorrow pay their Uſe at every Seaſon of the Year, and no ſooner have they diſcharg'd one, but another drops and ſtills immediately after, which cauſes them both aking Hearts and Heads; whereas they ſhould have taken care to get wholly clear, that they might remain free and at Liberty.

For I now turn my Speech to thoſe, who are more wealthy, and withal more nice and effeminate, and

whoſe

whoſe Diſcourſe is commonly in this manner: *How, ſhall I remain then without Servants, without Fire, and without an Houſe, or Place, to which I may repair?* Now this is the ſame thing, as if one, who is ſick of a Dropſie, and puft up as a Barrel, ſhould ſay to a Phyſician: *How? Would you have me become ſlender, lean and empty?* And why not, provided you thereby get your Health? Thus 'tis better, you ſhould be without Servants, than that you ſhould your ſelf become a Slave; and that you ſhould remain without Poſſeſſions, than that you ſhould be made the Poſſeſſion of another. Give Ear a little to the Diſcourſe of the two Vultures, as it is reported in the Fables. One of them was taken with ſo ſtrong a Fit of Vomiting, that he ſaid, *I believe, I ſhall caſt up my very Bowels.* Now to this his Companion anſwer'd, *What hurt will there be in it? For thou wilt not indeed throw up thine own Entrails, but thoſe of a deceas'd Perſon, which we devour'd the other Day.* So he, who is endebted, ſells not his own Inheritance, nor his own Houſe, but that of the Uſurer, who lent him the Money, to whom the Law judges the Right and Poſſeſſion of them. *Nay, by* Jupiter, will he ſay to me, *but my Father left me this Eſtate.* I believe it well, but he left thee alſo Liberty and a good Repute, of which thou oughteſt to make more Account, and be more careful. He, who begat thee, made thy Foot, and thy Hand, and nevertheleſs, if they happen to be mortify'd, thou wilt give Money to the Chirurgeon to cut them off. *Calypſo* preſented *Ulyſſes* with a Robe, breathing forth the ſweet ſcented Odor of an immortal Body, which ſhe put on him, as a Token and Memorial of the Love, ſhe had born him. But when his Ship was caſt away, and himſelf ready to ſink to the Bottom, not being able to keep above the Water, by reaſon of his wet Robe, which weigh'd him downwards, he put it off, and threw it away, and having girt his naked Breaſt with a certain broad Swadling-band,

Swam ſafe to Shore. ——

And afterwards, when the Danger was over, and he ſeen to be landed, he wanted neither Food nor Rayment. And is it not a true Tempeſt, when the Uſurer after ſom time comes to aſſault the miſerable Debtors with this Word *Pay* ?

This having ſaid, the Clouds grow thick, the Sea,
Is troubled, and its raging Waves beat high.
Whilſt Eaſt, South, Weſt-*winds through the Welkin fly.*

Theſe Winds are Uſe, and Uſe upon Uſe, which roll one after another; and he that is overwhelm'd by them, and kept down by their Weight, cannot ſerve himſelf, nor make his Eſcape by Swimming, but at laſt ſinks down to the Bottom, where he periſhes, carying with him his Friends, who were Pledges and Sureties for him.

Crates the *Theban* Philoſopher acted far otherwiſe: for owing nothing, and conſequently not being preſt for Payment by any Creditor, but only tir'd with the Cares and Troubles of Houſe-keeping, and the Sollicitude requiſite to the Management of his Eſtate, he left a Patrimony of eight Talents value, and taking only his Cloak and Wallet, retir'd to *Philoſophy* and *Poverty*. *Anaxagoras* alſo forſook his plentiful and well-ſtockt Paſtures. But what need is there of alledging theſe Examples? Seeing that *Philoxenus* a Muſician, being one of thoſe who were ſent to people a new City, and new Land in *Sicily*, where there fell to his Share a good Houſe and great Wealth, with which he might have liv'd well at his Eaſe, yet ſeeing, that Delights, Pleaſure and Idleneſs, without any Exerciſe of good Letters, reign'd in thoſe Quarters, ſaid, *Theſe Goods, by all the Gods, ſhall not deſtroy me; but I will rather loſe them*; and immediately leaving to others the Portion, that was allotted to himſelf, he again took Shipping, and return'd to *Athens*. Whereas thoſe, who are in Debt, bear and ſuffer themſelves to be ſu'd, tax'd, made Slaves of, and cheated with falſe Money, feeding with King *Phineus* certain winged Harpies. For theſe Uſurers fly to them, and raviſh out of their Hands their very Food. Neither yet have they Patience to ſtay and expect the Seaſon; for

they

they buy their Debtors Corn before it is ready for Harveſt; bargain for the Oil, before the Olives are ripe, and in like manner for their Wines: *I will have it*, ſays the Uſurer, *at ſuch a Price*, and immediately gets the Writing ſign'd; and yet the Grapes are ſtill hanging on the Vine, expecting the Month of *September*, when the Star *Arcturus* riſes and ſhews the Vintage.

Plutarch's *Platonic Queſtions*.

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by* R. Brovvn, *M. L.*

WHat is the Reaſon, that *Socrates* his God bid him to act the Midvvife's part to others, but charged himſelf not to generate? For thus he talks to *Theætetus*, not after his merry Jeſting vvay, becauſe he vvould never have uſed the Name of God in ſuch a manner, though *Plato* in that Book makes *Socrates* ſeveral times to talk vvith great Boaſting and Arrogance, as he does novv. There are many (dear Friend) ſo vvell affected tovvards me, that they are ready to fall rudely upon me, vvhen I offer to cure them of the leaſt Madneſs: for they will not be perſvvaded that I do it out of good Will, becauſe they are ignorant, that God bears ill Will to no Man, and that therefore I wiſh Ill to no Man; but to ſtand in a Lye, or to ſtifle the Truth, neither of theſe things I can do. Whether therefore did he ſtile his own Nature, which was of a very ſtrong and pregnant Wit, by the Name of God, as *Menander* ſays *For our Mind is God*, and as *Heraclitus*, *Man's Genius is a Deity*? Or did ſome Divine Cauſe, or ſome *Genius* or other impart this way of Philoſophizing to *Socrates*, whereby as he was interrogating others, he cleared them of Pride, Error and Ignorance, things that made them troubleſom both to themſelves and others. For about that time there happen'd to be in *Greece* ſeveral Sophiſters, to theſe ſome Young Men paid great Sums of Money, for which they purchaſed a ſtrong

Opinion of Learning and Wiſdom, and of being ſtout Diſputants; but this ſort of Diſputation ſpent much time in trifling Squablings, which neither were of any Credit or Profit. Now *Socrates* uſing an argumentative Diſcourſe, by way of a purgative Remedy, procured Belief and Authority to what he ſaid; becauſe in refuting others, he himſelf affirmed nothing; and he the ſooner gained upon People, becauſe he ſeemed rather to be inquiſitive after the Truth, as well as they, than to maintain his own Opinion: For that uſeful thing, Judgment is taken with Familiarity, and the Lover is blinded with the thing Loved; and nothing of a Man's own is ſo beloved, as is his Opinion and Diſcourſe by him that made it. And the Diſtribution of Children, ſaid to be the juſteſt, in reſpect of Diſcourſes, is the unjuſteſt; for there a Man muſt take his own; but here a Man muſt chuſe the beſt, tho' it be another Man's. Therefore he that has Children of his own, is a worſe Judge of other Mens: It being true, as the Sophiſter ſaid well, *The* Eleans *would be the moſt proper Judges of the Olympick Games, were no* Elean *Gameſters.* So he that would Judge of Diſputations, cannot be juſt, if he either ſeeks the Bays for, or is himſelf Antagoniſt, to either of the Antagoniſts. For as the *Grecian* Captains, when they were to give their Suffrages, who had behaved himſelf the beſt, every Man of them Voted for himſelf: So there is not a Philoſopher of them all, but would do the like, beſides *Socrates*, and thoſe that acknowledge, they can ſay nothing, that is their own and theſe only is the pure uncorrupt Judges of the Truth. For as the Air in the Ears, unleſs it be ſtill, and void of Noiſe in it ſelf, without any Sound or Tingling, does not exactly take Sounds. So the Philoſophical Judgment in Diſputations, if it be diſturbed and obſtreperous within, is hardly comprehenſive of what is ſaid without. For our Familiar and inbred Opinion muſt have Philoſophy to rectifie the beſt things it is capable to do; all others err from the Truth. Furthermore, if Men can comprehend and know nothing, God did juſtly interdict *Socrates* the Procreation of falſe and unſtable

Diſcourſes

Diſcourſes, which are like Wind-eggs, and bid him convince others who were of any other Opinion. And Reaſoning, which rids us of the greateſt of Evils, Error and Vanity of Mind, is none of the leaſt Benefits to us: *For God has not granted this to the Æſculapians*: Nor did *Socrates* give Phyſick to the Body, indeed he purged the Mind of ſecret Corruption. But if there be any Knowledge of the Truth, and if the Truth be one, he has as much that learns it of him that invented it not, as the Inventer himſelf. Now, he the moſt eaſily attains the Truth, that is perſwaded he has it not, and he chuſes beſt, juſt as he that has no Children of his own, adopts the beſt. Mark this well, that Poetry, Mathematicks, Oratory and Sophiſtry, which are the things the Deity forbad *Socrates* to generate, are of no Value; and that of the ſole wiſdom about what is Divine and Intelligible (which *Socrates* call'd Amiable and Eligible for it ſelf) there is neither Generation nor Invention by Man, but Reminiſcence. Wherefore *Socrates* taught nothing, but ſuggeſting Principles of doubt, as Birth-pains, to Young Men, he excited, and at the ſame time confirmed the innate Notions: This he call'd his *Art of Midwifery*, which did not (as others profeſſed) extrinſically confer Intelligence upon his Auditors; but demonſtrated it to be innate, yet imperfect and confuſed, and in want of a Nurſe to feed it.

Why does he call the ſupream God *Father and Maker of all things*? Is he (as *Homer* calls him) of created Gods and Men the Father, and of Brutes and things that have no Soul the Maker? If *Chryſippus* may be credited, he can be ſaid to be Father of it: As in his *Convivium* he calls *Phædrus* the Father of the amatorious Diſcourſe, which he had introduced, and as in his *Phædrus* he calls *Lycias*, who had been the occaſion of an excellent Diſcourſe about Philoſophical Matters. Or is there any difference between a Father and a Maker, or between Procreation and Making? For, as what is procreated, is alſo made, but not on the contrary; ſo he that procreated did alſo make: For the Procreation of an Animal, is the making of it. Now the Work of a

Maker

Maker, as of a Builder, a Weaver, a Muſical Inſtrument Maker, or a Statuary, does altogether differ from its Author, but the Principle and Power of the Procreater is implanted in the Progeny, and contains his Nature, the Progeny being a Piece pull'd off the Procreator. Since therefore that the World is neither like a piece of Potter's Work, nor Joyners Work, but that there is a great Share of Life and Divinity in it, which God from himſelf communicated to, and mixed with, Matter; God may as well be called Father of the World, it having Life in it, as the Maker of it. And ſince theſe things come very near to *Plato*'s Opinion, conſider, I pray, whether there may not be ſome probability in them. Whereas the World conſiſts in two Parts, Body and Soul, God indeed made not the Body; but Matter being exhibited, he formed and fitted it, binding up, and confining what was infinite within proper Limits and Figures. But the Soul partaking of Mind, Reaſon and Harmony, was not only the Work of God, but part of him, not only made by him, but begot by him. Therefore in the Republic Univerſal, ſuppoſe the Univerſe, as one Line, to be cut into two unequal Sections, again cut each of theſe Sections in two after the ſame manner, Suppoſe this to conſtitute the *Genera* of things ſenſible, and of things intelligible in the Univerſe, the firſt repreſents the *Genus* of Intelligibles, comprehending the firſt *Species*; the ſecond, the Mathematics. Of Senſibles, firſt the *Genus* comprehends ſolid Bodies, the ſecond comprehends the Images and Repreſentations of them. Moreover, to every one of theſe four he has aſſigned its proper judicatory Faculty, *viz.* to the firſt the Mind; to the Mathematics the Intellect; to Senſibles, Belief; to Images and Repreſentations, Likelihood, and Probability. But what does he mean by dividing the Univerſe into unequal parts? And which of the Sections, the Intelligible or the Senſible, is the greater? For in this he has not explain'd himſelf. But it appears, the Senſible is the greater Portion. For the Eſſence of Intelligibles is indiviſible, and in the ſame reſpect ever the ſame, being contracted into a little and pure; but an Eſſence divi-

ſible-

ſible, and running about Bodies, conſtitutes the ſenſible part. Now, what is immaterial is limited; but Body in reſpect of Matter is infinite and unlimited; and as it is ſenſible it partakes of Intelligible, when it is defined. Beſides, as every Senſible has many Images, Shadows and Repreſentations, and from one and the ſame Original, ſeveral Copies may be taken both by Nature and Art; ſo the former muſt needs exceed the latter in Number, according to *Plato*, who makes the Notions of things ſenſible to be Copies or Ideas, like Statues or Pictures of things material. Then the Mind conceives one ſort of Ideas abſtracted from Body, which belongs to the Mathematics: This leads from Arithmetick to Geometry, thence to Aſtrology, then to Muſic or Harmony. For things became Geometrical by the Acceſſion of Magnitude to Quality; Solid, by the Acceſſion of Profundity to Magnitude: Aſtrological, by the Acceſſion of Motion to Solidity; Harmonical by the Acceſſion of Sound to Motion. Abſtract then Sound from Motion, Motion from Solids, Profundity from *Superficies*, Magnitude from Quantity, we are then in notional Ideas, which have no Diſtinction among themſelves, in reſpect of Unity and Solitude: For Unity makes no Number, unleſs joyned by the infinite Binary, then it makes a Number: And thence we proceed to Points, thence to Lines, from them to *Superficies*, and Profundities, and Bodies, and to the Qualities of the Bodies ſo and ſo qualified. Now, the Mind is the only judicatory Faculty of Intelligibles, and the Intellect is the Mind in the Mathematics, as to Intelligibles appearing by Reflection in a Glaſs. But as to the Knowledge of Bodies, becauſe of their Multitude, Nature has given us five Powers or Diſtinctions of Senſes; not are all Bodies, diſcerned by them, many eſcaping Senſe, by reaſon of their ſmallneſs. And tho every one of us conſiſts of a Body and Soul, yet the Hegemonic and Intellectual Faculty is ſmall, being hid in the huge Maſs of Fleſh. And the Caſe is the ſame in the Univerſe as to ſenſible and intelligible: For Intelligibles are the Principles of bodily things, but every thing is greater than the principle whence

whence it came. Yet on the contrary ſome will ſay, that by comparing Senſibles with Intelligibles we match things mortal with Divine in ſome meaſure: For God is in Intelligibles. Beſides, the thing contain'd is ever leſs than the Containing, and the Nature of the Univerſe in the Intelligible contains the Senſible: For God having plac'd the Soul in the middle, hath extended it thro' all, and hath covered it all round with Bodies. The Soul is inviſible, and cannot be perceived by any of the Senſes, as *Plato* ſays in his Book *De Legibus*, therefore every Man muſt Die, but the World ſhall never Die. For Mortality and Diſſolution ſurrounds every one of our vital Faculties. The Caſe is quite otherwiſe in the World, for the corporeal Part contained in the middle by the more noble and unalterable Part, is ever preſerved. And a Body is not ſaid to be without Parts, and indiviſible for its minuteneſs: But what is Incorporeal and Intelligible is ſo, as being ſimple and ſincere, and void of all Privation and Difference. Otherwiſe it were Folly to think to judge of corporeal things by incorporeal. Now, a thing is ſaid to be without Parts and indiviſible, which is every where, and no part of the World void of it: But all Affections and Action, and all Corruptions and Generations are contained by an Inſtant. But the Mind is only Judge of what is intelligible, as the Sight is of Light, by reaſon of their Simplicity and Similitude. But Bodies having ſeveral Differences and Diverſities, are comprehended ſome by one Judicatory, others by another, as by ſeveral Organs. Yet they do not well, who deſpiſe the *Dianoetick* Faculty in us: For it being great comprehends all Senſibles, and attains to things Divine. This muſt be a great thing, which (as he ſays in his *Convivium*) ſhows us, how we ſhould uſe amatorious Matters, turning our Minds from ſenſible Goods, to things only diſcernable by the Mind, that we ought not to be enſlaved by the Beauty of any Body, Study or Learning; but laying aſide ſuch Puſillanimity, we may turn to the vaſt Ocean of Beauty.

What

What is the Reaſon, that, tho' *Plato* always ſays that the Soul is ancienter than the Body, and that it is the Cauſe and Principle of its Riſe, yet he likewiſe ſays, that neither the Soul exiſts without the Body, nor the Mind without the Soul, but the Soul in the Body, and the Mind in the Soul: For ſo the Body will ſeem to be and not to be, becauſe it both exiſts with the Soul, and is begot by the Soul? Perhaps what we have often ſaid is true, *viz.* That the Soul without Mind, and the Body without Form, did mutually ever co-exiſt, and neither of them had Generation or Beginning. But after the Soul did partake of Mind and Harmony, and being thro' Conſent made wiſe, wrought a Change in Matter, and being ſtronger than the others Motions, it drew and converted theſe Motions to it ſelf: So the Body of the World drew its Original from the Soul, and became conformable and like to it. For the Soul did not make the Nature of the Body out of its ſelf, nor out of nothing; but it wrought an orderly and plyable Body out of one diſorderly and formleſs. Juſt as if a Man ſhould ſay, that the Virtue of the Seed is with the Body, and yet that the Body of the Fig-tree or Olive-tree was made of the Seed, he would not be much out (for the Body, its innate Motion and Mutation proceeding from the Seed, grew up, and became what it is.) So when formleſs and indefinite Matter was once formed by the in-being Soul, it received ſuch and ſuch a Form and Diſpoſition.

Why, ſince Bodies and Figures are contain'd partly by Rectilinears, and partly by Circles, does he make æquilateral Triangles, and Triangles of unequal Sides, the Principles of Rectilinears; of which he made the æquilateral Triangle and the Cube, the Element of the Earth; and a *Scalenum* and a Pyramid, he made the Seed of Fire, an *Octaedron* of Air, and an *Icoſaedron* of Water; but why does he not meddle with Circulars, tho' he does mention a *Sphæroides*, where he ſays, that of the afore-reckoned Figures, every Circumference of a Body may be divided into equal Parts? Or is their Opinion true, who think that the aſcribed *Do-*

decaedron

decaedron to the Globe, when he ſays, that God made uſe of it in delineating the Univerſe? For upon account of the Multitude of its *Baſes*, and the Obtuſeneſs of its Angles, avoiding all Rectitude, it is flexible, and by Circumtenſion, like Globles of Twelve Skins, it becomes circular and comprehenſive. For it has Twenty ſolid Angles, each of which is contain'd by three obtuſe Planes, and each of theſe contains a Right, and the fifth Part of a Right Angle. Now it is made up of Twelve equilateral and equangular Quinquangles, each of which conſiſts of Thirty of the firſt *Scalena*. Therefore it ſeems to reſemble both the Zodiack and the Year, it being divided into Parts and Portions alike. Or is a Right in Nature prior to Circumference? Or is Circumference but an Accident of Rectilinear. For a Right Line is ſaid to bend, and a Circle is deſcribed by a Center and Diſtance, which is the place of a right Line, by which it is meaſured: For a Circumference is every where equally diſtant from the Middle. And a Cone and a Cylinder are made by Rectilinears. A Cone by keeping one ſide of a Triangle fixt, and carrying the other round. A Cylinder, by doing the like with a Parallelogram. Further, that is neareſt to Principle which is leſs; but a Right is the leaſt of all Lines, as it is ſimple, whereas in a Circumference, one part is concave without, another convex within. Beſides, Numbers are before Figures, as Unity is before a Point, which is Unity in Poſition. But indeed Unity is a Triangle: For every Triangular Number taken eight times, by adding an Unity, becomes quadrate, and this happens to Unity. Therefore a Triangle is before a Circle, and a right Line before a Circumference. Beſides, no Element is divided into things compounded of it ſelf; indeed there is a Diſſolution of all other things into an Element. Now, a Triangle is divided into no Circumference; but two Diameters cut a Circle into four Triangles. Therefore a Rectilinear Figure is before a Circular, and has more of the Nature of an Element. And *Plato* himſelf ſhows that a Rectilinear is in the firſt place, and a Circular is only conſequential and accidental. For where, he

he ſays, the Earth conſiſts of Cubes, each of which is contained with Rectilinear *Superficies*, he alſo ſays, the Earth is Spherical and round. Therefore there was no need of making a peculiar Element for round things, ſince Rectilinear, fitted after a certain manner among themſelves, do make up this Figure. Beſides, a right Line whether great or little, preſerves the ſame Rectitude; but the Circumference of a Circle, the leſs it is, the crookeder it is; the larger, the ſtreighter. Therefore Lines falling on a Convex *Superficies*, ſome touch the Subject plain in a Point, others in a Line. So that a Man may imagin, that a Circumference is made up of little right Lines. But obſerve this, no Circle or Sphere is exact, and tho' there be a latent Difference in the Station, or Extenſion, or Minuteneſs of the Particles, yet it ſeems circular and round. Therefore no corruptible Body moves circularly, but altogether in a right Line. To be truly Spherical is not in a ſenſible Body, that is the Element of the Soul and Mind, to whom he has given circular Motion, as being agreeable to their Nature.

How comes it to paſs, that in *Phædrus* it is ſaid, that the Nature of a Wing, by which any thing that is heavy is carried upwards, participates moſt of the Body of God? Is it becauſe the Diſcourſe is of Love, and Love is of Beauty inherent in a Body? Now Beauty by Similitude to things Divine moves and reminds the Soul. Or it may be (without too much Curioſity) he may be underſtood in plain meaning, to wit, that the ſeveral Faculties of the Soul being employed about Bodies, the Power of Reaſoning and Underſtanding, partakes moſt about Divine and Heavenly things; and which he did not only Tropically call a Wing, it raiſing the Soul from mean and mortal things, to things above.

In what Senſe does *Plato* ſay, that the *Antiperiſtaſis* of Motion, by reaſon there is no *Vacuum*, is the Cauſe of the Effects in Phyſicians Cupping-glaſſes, in Glewing, in bearing of Burthens, in the running of Water, in Thunder, in the Attraction of the Loadſtone, and in the Harmony of Sounds? For it ſeems unreaſonable to aſcribe the Reaſon of ſuch different Effects to the ſelf

ſame

ſame Cauſe. How Reſpiration is made by the *Antiperiſtaſis* of the Air, he has ſufficiently ſhown. But as for the reſt, he ſays, they act miraculouſly, that nothing ſtands, and how things thruſt and change Poſtures with others, he has left to us to determine. As to Cupping-glaſſes, the Caſe is thus; the Air next to the Fleſh being comprehended and inflamed by the Heat, and being made more rare than the Pores of the Glaſs, does not go into a *Vacuum* (for there is no ſuch thing) but into the Air, which is without the Cupping-glaſs, and has an Impulſe upon it. This Air drives that before it, and as it gives way, ſucceeds into the place of what was vacuated by the Ceſſion of the laſt. And ſo the Air approaching the Fleſh, comprehended by the Cupping-glaſs, and being in a Ferment, draws the Humors into the Cuping-glaſs. For the Cavities about the Mouth and Stomach are full of Air, when therefore the Meat is ſqueez'd down by the Tongue and Tonſils, the elided Air follows what gives way, and alſo forces down the Meat. Weights alſo thrown cleave the Air, and diſſipate it, as they fall with Force, the Air recoiling back, filling the Vacuity, following the Impulſe, and accelerating the Motion. The Fall alſo of *Thunderbolts* is like to darting any thing. For by the Blow in the Cloud, the fiery Matter exploded, breaks into the Air, and it being broken, gives way, and being contracted above beyond it ſelf, by main Force it preſſes the Thunder-bolt downwards, contrary to Nature. And neither Amber nor the Load ſtone draws any thing to them, which is near them, nor does any thing ſpontaneouſly approach them. But this Stone emits ſtrong Exhalations, by which the containing Air being impelled, forceth that before it, and being turned round, and returned to the vacuated place, it forcibly carries about the Iron. In Amber there is a flammeous and ſpirituous Nature, and this by rubbing on the Surface, being emitted by recluſe paſſages, does the ſame that the Load-ſtone does. It alſo draws the lighteſt and drieſt of adjacent Bodies, by reaſon of their Tenuity and Weakneſs; for it is not ſo ſtrong, nor ſo endued with Weight and Strength, as

to force much Air, and to act with Violence, and to have Power over great Bodies, as the Magnet has. But what is the reaſon the Air neither draws a Stone, nor Wood, but Iron only to the Loadſtone? This is a common Queſtion both by them who think the Coition of theſe Bodies is made by the Contraction of the Loadſtone, and by ſuch as think it done by the Incitement of the Iron. Iron is neither ſo rare as Wood, nor altogether ſo ſolid as Gold, or a Stone; but has certain Pores and Aſperities, which in equality are proportionable to the Air; and the Air being received in certain Seats, cannot get out, and being comprehended by the Iron moderately reſiſting, as the Air returning the Stone happens upon it, it draws the Iron along with it to the Stone, and the reaſon is this: But the manner how the Waters running over the Earth, run againſt the Wind, is not ſo evident. But it is obſervable, that the Waters of Lakes and Ponds ſtand immoveable, becauſe the Air about them ſtagnates immoveable, and admits of no Vacuity. For the Water on the Surface of Lakes and Seas, is troubled and fluctuates, as the Air is moved, it following the Motion of the Air, and moving as it is moved. For the Force from below, cauſes the Hollowneſs of the Wave, and from above the Swelling thereof; 'till the Air ambient, and containing the Water, is ſtill. Therefore the Flux of ſuch Waters, as follow the Motion of the Air, is continued without end. And this is the reaſon that the Stream encreaſes with the Waters, and is ſlow, where the Water is weak, the Air not giving way, nor finding greater Reſiſtance. So the Water of Fountains muſt needs run out, the extrinſick Air ſucceeding into the Vacuity, and throwing the Water out. In a cloſe Houſe, that keeps in the the Air & *Wind*, the Floor ſprinkled with Water cauſes an Air or *Wind*, becauſe as the ſprinkled Water falls, the Air gives way. For it is ſo provided by Nature, that Air and Water force one another, and give way to one another; becauſe there is no Vacuity where one is, in which the other is not moved. Concerning Symphony, he ſhows how Sounds harmonize. A quick Sound is acute, a ſlow is grave. There-

fore acute Sound move the Senſes the quicker, which dying and grave Sounds ſupervening, what ariſes from the Contemperation of one with the other, cauſes Pleaſure to the Ear, which we call Harmony. Aud by what has been ſaid, it may eaſily be underſtood, that Air is the Inſtrumen; of theſe things. For Sound is the Stroak upon the Senſe of the Hearer, cauſed by the Air, and the Air ſtrikes, as it is ſtruck by the thing moving; if violent, accutely; if languid, ſoftly. The violeut Stroak comes quick to the Ear? then the Circumambient Air receivlng a ſlower, it affects and carries the Senſe along with it.

What means *Timæus*, when he ſays, that Souls are diſperſed into the Earth, the Moon, and into other Inſtruments of Time? Does the Earth move like the Sun, Moon and five Planets, which for their Motions he calls Organs or Inſtruments of Time? Or is the Earth fixt to the *Axis* of the Univerſe, yet not ſo built as to remain immovable, but to turu aud wheel about, as *Ariſtarchus* and *Seleuchus* have ſhown ſince; *Ariſtarchus* only ſuppoſing it, *Seleucus* poſitively aſſerting it; *Theophraſtus* writes how that *Plato* when he grew old, repented him, that he had placed the Earth in the middle of the Univerſe, and not in its place. But is not this contradictory to *Plato*'s Opinion elſewhere; In the *Greek*, ininſtead of χρόνε it ſhould be wrote χρόνῳ taking the Dative Caſe inſtead of the Genitive, and ſo the Stars will not be ſaid to be Inſtruments, but the Bodies of Animals; as *Ariſtotle* has deſined the Soul to be *an Act of a natural organic Body, having Life in Power.* The Senſe then muſt be this, *That Souls are diſperſed into meet organical Bodies in Time.* But this is far beſides his Opinion, For it is not once but ſeveral times, that he calls the Stars Inſtruments of Time. As when he ſays, the Sun was made, as well as other Planets, for the Diſtinction and Conſervatio n of the Numbers of Time. It is therefore moſt proper to underſtand here, the Earth to be an Inſtrument of Time, not that the Earth is moved, as the Stars are; but that they being carried about it, it ſtanding ſtill makes Sun-ſet and Sun-ri[illegible]

by which, the firſt Meaſures of Time, Nights and Days are circumſcribed. Wherefore he called it the infallible Guard and Artificer of Night and Day. For the Gnomons of Dials are Inſtruments and Meaſures of Time, not in being moved with the Shadows, but in ſtanding ſtill, they being like the Earth in interpoſing between the Sun, when it is down, as *Empedocles* ſays, *That the Earth makes Night by intercepting Light.* This therefore muſt be *Plato*'s meaning. And ſo much the rather, if a Man do but conſider, that the Sun is not abſurdly, nor without probability ſaid to be made for the Diſtinction of Time, nor the Moon and the reſt of the Planets. For as in other reſpects the Dignity of the Sun is great; ſo by *Plato* in his Republic, the Sun is called the King and Lord of the whole ſenſible Nature, as alſo the Good of the intelligible. For it is ſaid to be the Offſpring of Good, it giving both Being an Apparence to things viſible; as it is from good that things intelligible are, and are underſtood. But that God having ſuch a Nature, and ſo great Power, ſhould be made for an Inſtrument of Time, and a ſure meaſure of the Difference that happens among the Orbs, as they are ſlow or ſwift in Motion, ſeems neither decent, nor highly rational. It muſt therefore be ſaid to ſuch as are ſtartled at theſe things, that it is their Ignorance, to think that Time is the Meaſure of Motion, in reſpect of ſooner or later, as *Ariſtotle* calls it; or quantity in Motion, as *Speuſippas*; or an Interval of Motion, or a certain Nothing, as ſome of the Stoics define it by an Accident, they not comprehending its Eſſence and Power, which *Pindar* has not ineptly expreſſed in theſe Words, *Time, who ſurpaſſes all in the Seats of the Bleſt.* *Pythagoras*, alſo when he was askt, What Time was? Anſwered, it was the Soul of the Heavens. For Time is no Affection or Accident of Motion, but the Cauſe, Power and Principle of that Symmetry and Order that confines all created Beings, by which the animated Nature of the Univerſe is moved: Or rather Motion, Order and Symmetry it ſelf is called Time. For Walking without Stumbling, it juſtly adminiſters all mortal Affairs. Accord-

ing to the Ancients, the Soul is a Number moving it self. Therefore *Plato* says that Time and Heaven were co-existent, that Motion was before Heaven had Being; but so was not Time. For then there neither was Order, nor Measure, nor Determination; but indefinite Motion, as it were the formless and rude matters of Time. But when Matter was informed with Figures, and Motion with Conversions or Circuitions; from that, came the World; from this, Time. Both are Representations of God; the World, of his Essence; Time, of his Invisibility in Motion, as in Production God is the World. Therefore they say Heaven and Motion being bred together, will perish together, if ever they do perish. For nothing is generated without Time, nor is any thing intelligible without Eternity; as this endures for ever, and that never dies when once bred. Time therefore having a necessary Connexion and Affinity with Heaven, cannot be called simple Motion, but as it were Motion in Order, having Terms and Periods; whereof, since the Sun is Præfect and Overseer, to determine, moderate, produce and observe Changes and Seasons, which (according to *Heraclitus*) produce all things, He is Coadjutor to the governing and chief God, not in trivial and little things, but in the greatest and most momentous Affairs.

Since *Plato* in his Commonwealth, discoursing of the Faculties of the Soul, has very well compared the Symphony of Reason, and of the irascible and concupiscent Faculty to the Harmony of the lowest, middle and highest Chord; some Men may enquire, whether he placed the rational or irascible Faculty in the middle; for he is not clear in the Point. Indeed accordingly the Place of Parts, the order of the irascible Faculty, must be in the middle, and of the rational in the highest, which the *Greeks* call *Hypate.* For they of old called the Chief and Supreme *Hypatos.* So *Xenocrates* calls *Jove*, in respect of immutable things, *Hypatos* (or Highest) in respect of Sublunary things, *Neatos* (or lowest.) And long before him, *Homer* calls the chief God ἀπάτων κρείοντων, *Highest of Rulers.* And Nature has of due

given

given the higheſt Place to what is moſt excellent, having placed Reaſon as a Steerſ-man in the Head, and the iraſcible Faculty at a Diſtance, laſt of all and loweſt, and the loweſt place they call *Neate*; as the Names of the Dead νέατοι and ὕστατοι do ſhow, And ſome ſay, that the Winds which blow from a low and obſcure place, are called *Notos*. What Oppoſition therefore the Loweſt has to the Higheſt, and the Laſt to the Firſt, ſince the Concupiſcent Faculty ſtands in the ſame to Reaſon, the loweſt cannot be firſt, nor any thing higheſt but Reaſon. For they that aſcribe the Ruling Power of the Middle to it, are ignorant how they deprive it of a higher Power, namely, of the higheſt, which is neither competible to the iraſcible, nor to the Concupiſcent Faculty; ſince it is the Nature of them both to be govern'd by, and obſequious to Reaſon, and the Nature of neither of them, to govern and lead it. And the moſt natural place of the iraſcible Faculty ſeems to be in the middle of the other two. For it is the Nature of Reaſon to govern, of the iraſcible Faculty both to govern and be governed, which is obſequious to Reaſon, and commands the Concupiſcent Faculty, when this is diſobedient to Reaſon. And as in Letters the Semi-vowels are midling between Mutes and Vowels, theſe having ſomething more, and they ſomething leſs; ſo in the Soul of Man, the Iraſcible Faculty is not purely paſſive, but hath often an Imagination of Good mixt with the irrational Appetite of Revenge. *Plato* himſelf, after he had compared the Soul to a pair of Horſes and a Charioteer, likened (as every one knows) the rational Faculty to the Charioteer, and the Concupiſcent to one of the Horſes, which was reſty and unmanageable altogether, briſtly about the Ears, Deaf and Diſobedient both to Whip and Spur, and the Iraſcible he makes very obſequious to the Bridle of Reaſon, and aſſiſtant to it. As therefore in a Chariot, the Charioteer is not midling in Vertue and Power, but one of the Horſes is worſe than his Guider, and yet better than his Fellow. So in the Soul, *Plato* gives not the middle place to the principal part; but to that Faculty which

has leſs of Reaſon than the principal part, and more than the Third. This Order alſo obſerves the Analogy of the Symphonies, *i. e.* of the Iraſcible to the Rational, as *Hypate* to *Diateſſaron*; to the Concupiſcent, as *Nete* to *Diapente*. Of the Rational to the concupiſcent, as *Hypate* to *Nete* a *Diapaſſon*. But ſhould you place the Rational in the middle, you would make the Iraſcible farther from the Concupiſcent; tho' ſome of the Philoſophers have taken the Iraſcible and the Concupiſcent Faculty for the ſelf-ſame, by reaſon of their Likeneſs. But it may be ridiculous to deſcribe the Firſt, Middle and Laſt, by their Place; ſince we ſee *Hypate* higheſt in the Harp, loweſt in the Pipe, and whereſoever you place the *Meſe* in the Harp, provided it is tunable, it ſounds more acute than *Hypate*, and more grave than *Nete*. Nor does the Eye poſſeſs the ſame place in all Animals; but where ever it is placed, it is natural for it to ſee. So a Pædagogue, tho' he goes not formoſt, but follows behind, is ſaid to lead, like the General of the *Trojan* Army,

Who ſometimes fought in Front,
And kept Command, tho' he retir'd upon't.

But where ever he was, he was firſt, and chief in Power. So in like manner, the Faculties of the Soul are not to be ranged in order of Place or Name, but according to their Power and Analogy. For, that in the Body of Man, Reaſon is in the higheſt Place, is accidental. But it holds the chief and higheſt Power, as *Meſe* to *Hypate*, in reſpect of the Concupiſcent; as to *Nete*, in reſpect of the Iraſcible. Inſomuch as it depreſſes and heightens, and in fine, makes a Harmony, by abating what is too much, and by not ſuffering them to flat and grow dull. For what is moderate and ſymmetrous, is defin'd by Mediocrity. Beſides, it is an Imperfection, to make the Mediocrities of the rational Power, which they call *Sacred Beings*, to be in the Paſſions. For in Chariots the beſt of the Beaſts is not in the middle; nor is the skill of Driving placed in the higheſt Place, but it is a Mediocrity in the Inequality of the Swiftneſs

and

and Slowness of the Horses. As the force of Reason take up the Passions irrationally moved, and reducing it to Measure, constitutes a Mediocrity betwixt too much and too little.

Why said *Plato*, that Speech was composed of Nouns and Verbs? For he seems to make no other Parts of Speech but them. Indeed *Homer*, for the Help of Youth, has comprehended them all ill one Verse.

Αὐτὸς ἰὼν κλισίηνδε τὸ σὸν γέρας ὄφρ' εὖ εἰδῆς.

For in it there is Pronoun, Participle, Noun, Preposition, Article, Conjunction, Adverb and Verb, the Particle δὲ being put instead of the Preposition εἰς, for κλισίηνδε is said in the same Sense as Ἀθήναζε What then shall we say for *Plato?* That at first the Ancients called that λόγος, or Speech, which is now called *Protasis*, Axiom, or Sentence; which as soon as a Man speaks, he either speaks true or false. This Speech consists of a Noun and Verb, which Logicians call the Subject and Prædicate. For when we hear this said, *Socrates Philosophizeth*, Socrates *is changed*, requiring nothing more, we say the one is true, the other false. For very likely in the beginning, Men wanted Speech and articulate Voice to enable them to express at once the Passions and the Patients, and the Actions and the Agents. Now, since Actions and Affections are lively expressed by Verbs, and they that act and are affected by Nouns, as he says, these seem to signifie. And one may say, the rest signifie not. For instance, the Groans and Shrieks of Stage players, and even their Smiles and *Aposiopes* make their Discourse more Emphatic. But they are not so necessary to signifie any thing as a Noun and Verb, they being only ascititious, to vary Speech; just as they vary Letters who mark Spirits and Quantities upon Letters, these being the Accidents and Differences of Letters. As the Ancients have made manifest, whom sixteen Letters sufficed to speak and write any thing. Besides, we must observe, that *Plato* says, that Speech is compos'd *of* these, not *by* these: As if a Man should say, such a Medicine is compos'd of Wax of *Galbanum*,

and another should cavil at it, because Fire and Utensils are omitted, without which it cannot be made. Just so we may blame *Plato* for leaving our Conjunctions, Prepositions, and the like. For Speech is not compos'd of them; yet by their Means, and not without them, Speech must be compos'd. As, if a Man pronounce *beateth*, or *is beaten*, and put *Socrates* and *Pythagoras* to the same, he shows he understands or means something. But let a Man pronounce *Yea* or *For*, and no more, none can conceive any Notion of a Body or Matter, and unless such Words as these be uttered with Verbs and Nouns, they are but empty Noise and Chattering: For neither alone, nor joyn'd one with another, do they signifie any thing. And joyn and confound together Conjunctions, Articles and Prepositions, supposing you would make something of them; yet you will be taken to babble, and not to speak Sense. But when there is a Verb in construction with a Noun, the Result is Speech and Sense. Therefore some do make only these two Parts of Speech. And perhaps *Homer* was willing to declare himself of this Mind, when he says,

——ἔπος τ' ἔφατ', ἔκτ' ὀνόμαζεν.

For by the Word ἔπος he usually means a Verb, as in these Verses.

Ὦ γύναι ἦ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος θυμαλγὲς ἔειπες.

And,

Χαῖρε πάτερ ὦ ξεῖνε ἔπος δ' εἰπὲρτι λέλεκται
Δεινὸν ἄφαρ τὸ φέροιεν ἀναρπαξασαι ἄελλαι.

For δεινὸν is neither Conjunction, Article nor Preposition, nor is θυμαλγὲς ἔειπες, but only an emphatick Verb of a base Action, proceeding from a foolish Passion of the Mind. Therefore when we would praise or dispraise Poeta or Writers, we are wont to say, such a Man uses Attick and good Words, and such a one uses rascally Words; and none can say, that *Thucydides* or *Demosthenes* ever used such Articles. What then (may some say) do the rest of the parts conduce nothing to

Speech

Speech? I answer, they conduce, as Salt does to Victuals, or Water to Rice. But *Euenus* calls Fire the best Sawce. Tho' sometimes there is neither occasion for Fire to boil, nor for Salt to season our Food, which we have always occasion for. Nor has Speech always occasion for Articles. I think I may say it of the Latin Tongue, which is now the Universal Language, that it has taken away all Prepositions, saving a few, nor does it use any Articles, unless as Lace and Ornament to Nouns. Nor is it any Wonder, since *Homer*, who in fineness of Epick surpasses all Men, has put Articles only to a few Nouns, like Handles to Cans, or Crests to Helmets. And these Verses are remarkable, wherein the Articles are expressed, *viz.*

Ἄιαντι δὲ μάλιστα δαΐ φρόνι θυμὸν ὄρινε
Τῷ Τελαμωνιάδῃ ———

And,

Πόιεν, ὄφρα τὸ κῆτος ὑπεκπροφυγὼν ἀλέοιτο.

And some few besides. But in a thousand others, the Omission of the Article hinders neither Perspicuity nor Elegance of Phrase. Now neither an Animal, nor an Instrument, nor Arms, nor any thing else is more fine, efficacious, or grateful, for the loss of a part. Yet Speech, by taking away Conjunctions, often becomes more perswasive, as here,

Ἄλλον ζωὸν ἔχουσα νεούτατον, ἄλλον ἄουτον,
Ἄλλον τεθνῶειτα κατὰ μόθον ἕλκε πόδο ἵν.

And that of *Demosthenes*, Πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν ποιήσειεν ὁ τύπτων, ὧν ὁ παθὼν ἔνια οὐδ' ἂν ἀπαγγεῖλαι δύναιτο ἑτέρῳ τῷ χήματι, τῷ βλέμματι, τῇ φωνῇ, ὅταν ὑβρίζων, ὅταν ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων, ὅταν κονδύλοις, ὅταν ἐπὶ κόρρης ταῦτα κινεῖ, ταῦτα ἐξίστησιν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους ἀήθεις τοῦ προπηλακίζεσθαι. And further, does not *Midias* at this Day inveigh, exclaim and thunder at the same rate? Χειροτονεῖ ταί τι; Μειδίας Ἀναγυρράσιος προβέβληται Πλουτάρχῳ προξενεῖ, τὰ ἀπόρρητα οἶδεν, ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν οὐ χωρεῖ. Therefore the Figure *Assyndeton*, whereby Conjunctions are omitted, is highly commended by Writers of Rhetorick. But such as keep over strict to the

the Law, and (according to Cuſtom) omit not a Conjunction. Rhetoricians blame them for uſing a dull, flat, tedious Style, without any variety in it. And in as much as Logicians mightily want Conjunctions, for the joyning together their Axioms, as much as Charioteers want Yoaks, and *Ulyſſes* wanted Withs to tye *Cyclop*'s Sheep; this ſhews they are not parts of Speech, but a Conjunctive Inſtrument thereof, as the Word *Conjunction* imports, nor do they joyn all, but only ſuch as are not ſpoken ſimply: Unleſs you will make a Cord port of the Burthen. Glew a part of a Book, or DIſtribution of Money part of the Government. For *Demades* ſays, *That Money which is given to the People out of the Exchequer for Public Shows, is the Glew of a Democracy.* A Conjunction does juſt ſo of ſeveral Propoſitions make one, by kuitting and joyning them together, as melting Iron joyns Marble; but yet Iron neither is, nor is ſaid to be part of the Marble; only by being mix'd and joyn'd together, ſeveral things become one. But there be ſome, who think, that Conjunctions do not make any thing one, but that they are an enumerative Dialect, as of the time when ſuch and ſuch were Magiſtrates. Moreover, as to the other parts of Speech, a Pronoun is manifeſtly a ſort of Noun; not only becauſe it has Caſes alike, but becauſe it natnrally makes a proper Declaration of Notions brought from things defined: Nor do I know whether he that ſays, *Socrates* or he that ſays *This Man*, does more by Name declare the Perſon. The thing we call a Participle, being a Mixture of a Verb and Noun, is nothing of it ſelf (as are not the common Names of Men and Women) but in conſtruction is put with others, in regard of Tenſes belonging to Verbs, in regard of Caſes to Nouns. Logicians call them ἀνάκλασα, *i. e.* broken or torn off, as φερῶν comes from φέρνιμΘ, and σωφερῶν from σώφερΘ, having the force both of Nouns and Verbs. And Prepoſitions are like to the Creſts, Bars and Tyes of a Helmet, which one may rather ſay, do belong to Words, than are Words themſelves. Have you a care, they

rather

rather be not pieces and scraps of Words, as they that are in haste, write but Dashes and Pieces of Letters. For it is plain, that ἐμβλῆναι and ἐνβλῆναι are Abbreviations of the whole Words, ἐντὸς βλῆναι and ἐκτὸς βλῆναι, and προγενέσθαι for πρότερον γενέσθαι, and καθίζειν for καταίζειν. As, undoubtedly for haste and brevities sake, instead of λίθους βάλλειν and τοίχους ὀρύττειν Men first said λιθοβολεῖν and τοιχωρυχεῖν. Therefore every one of these is of some use in Speech; but nothing is a Part or Element of Speech (as has been said) except a Noun and a Verb, which make the first Juncture containing Truth or Falshood, which some call a proposition or *Protasis*, others au Axiom, and which *Plato* called Speech.

Plutarch's *Parallels, or, a Comparison between the* Greek *and* Roman *Histories.*

Translated out of the Greek *by* John Oswald, *M. A.*

MOst People are apt to take the Histories of former Times for meer Forgeries and Fables, because of many Pessages in those Relations that seem to be very extravagant. But yet accoading to my Observation, we have had as strange Occurrences of a later Date, as any we have received from Antiquity; for proof whereof I have here match'd several Stories of the *Ancients* with *modern* Instances, and cited my Authorities.

Datis, an eminent *Persian* Commander, drew out three hundred thousand Men to *Marathon*, a Plain of *Attica*, where he encamped, and denounced War to the Inhabitants. The *Athenians* made no Reckoning at all of so Barbarous a Rabble, but sent out nine thousand Men against him, under the Command of *Cynægyrus*, *Polyzelus*, *Callimachus* and *Militiades*. Upon the joyning of Battle, *Polyzelus* was struck Blind at the Sight of a wonderful Apparition: *Callimachus* his Body was struck thorow with a great many Lances, continuing in

an

an up-right Poſture, even when he was Dead: *Cynægyrus* had both his Hands cut off upon laying hold of a *Perſian* Ship that was endeavouring to get away.

King *Aſdrubal*, having poſſeſt himſelf of *Sicily*, proclaim'd War againſt the *Romans*. *Metellus*, who was appointed by the Senate to Command in chief, overcame him. *L. Glauco*, a *Patrician*, laid hold of the Veſſel that *Aſdrubal* was in, and loſt both his Hands upon it. *Ariſtides Mileſius* gives this Account in his firſt Book of the Affairs of *Sicily*, and *Diodorus Siculus* had it from him.

Xerxes march'd with an Army of five hundred thouſand Men to *Artemiſium*, and declar'd War againſt the Countrey. The *Athenians*, in a very great Surpriſe, ſent *Ageſilaus*, the Brother of *Themiſtocles*, to diſcover the Motions of the Enemy, notwithſtanding a Dream of his Father *Neocles*, that his Son had loſt both his Hands. This *Ageſilaus* put himſelf into a *Perſian* Habit, and entred the *Barbarians* Camp; where, taking *Mardonius* (an Officer of the King's Guards) for *Xerxes* himſelf, he kill'd him: Whereupon he was immediately ſeiz'd, bound and carry'd to *Xerxes*, who was juſt then about to ſacrifice an Ox to the Sun: The Fire was kindled upon the Altar, and *Ageſilaus* put his Right Hand into it, without ſo much as ſhrinking at the Pain. He was order'd upon this to be unty'd; and told the King, that the *Athenians were all of the ſame Reſolution*, and that, if he pleas'd, he ſhould ſee him burn his Left Hand too. This gave *Xerxes* an Apprehenſion of him, ſo that he caus'd him to be ſtill kept in Cuſtody. This I find in *Agatharchides*, the *Samian*, in the ſecond Book of his *Perſian* Hiſtory.

Porſena, a King of *Tuſcany*, encamp'd himſelf beyond the *Tiber*, and made War upon the *Romans*, cutting off the Supplies, 'till they were brought to great Want of Proviſions. The Senate were at their Wits end what to do, 'till *Mutius*, a Noble-Man got leave of the *Conſuls*, to take four Hundred of his own Quality to adviſe with upon the Matter. *Mutius*, upon this, put himſelf into the Habit of a private Man, and croſs'd the River; where finding one of the King's Officers giving Orders for the Diſtribution of Neceſſaries to the Soldiers, and

taking

taking him for the King himſelf, he ſlew him. He was taken immediately, and carried to the King where he put his Right Hand into a Fire that was in the Room, and with a Smile in the middle of his Torments; *Barbarians*, ſays he, *I can ſet my ſelf at Liberty without asking you leave, and be it known to you, that I have left four hundred Men in the Camp, as daring as my ſelf that have ſworn your Death.* This ſtruck *Porſena* with ſuch a Terror, that he made Peace with the *Romans* upon it. *Ariſtides Mileſius* is my Author for this, in the Third Book of his Hiſtory.

There happen'd a Diſpute betwixt the *Argives* and *Lacedæmonians* about a Claim to the Poſſeſſion of *Thyreates*. The *Amphictiones* gave their Opinion for a Tryal of it by Battle, ſo many and ſo many of a Side, and the Poſſeſſion to go to the Victor. The *Lacedæmonians* made choice of *Othryades* for their Captain, and the *Argives* of *Therſander*. The Battle was fought, and the only two Survivers that appear'd, were *Agenor* and *Chromius*, both *Argives*, who carry'd their Principals the News of the Victory. In this Interim, *Othryades*, who was not as yet quite Dead, made a ſhift to raiſe himſelf by the help of broken Lances, gather'd the Shields of the Dead together, and erected a Trophee with this Inſcription upon it in his own Blood, [*To Jupiter, the Guardian of Trophees.*] The Controverſie ſtill depended, till the *Amphictiones*, upon an occular Examination of the Matter, gave it for the *Lacedæmonians*. This is according to *Chryſermus* in his Third Book of the *Peloponneſian* Hiſtory.

In a War that the *Romans* had with the *Samnites*, they made *Poſthumius Albidus* their General. He was ſurpris'd in the difficult Paſs call'd *Furcæ Caudinæ*, where he was hemm'd in, and loſt Three Legions, he himſelf likewiſe falling upon the Place grievouſly wounded. In the Dead of the Night, finding himſelf near his End, he gather'd together the Targets of his dead Enemies, and raiſed a Trophee with them, which he inſcribed with his Hand dipt in Blood [*Erected by the* Romans *to* Jupiter, *Guardian of the Trophees, for a Victory over the* Samnites.] But *Fabius Gurges*, that was diſpatcht away with

withs Troops under his Command, ſo ſoon as he came to the Place, and ſaw the Trophee, took up an auſpicious Omen upon it, fought the Enemy, and overcame them, took their King *Priſoner*, and ſent him to *Rome*. This in the Third Book of *Ariſtides Mileſius* his *Italian* Hiſtory.

Upon the *Perſians* falling into *Greece* with a Body of five hundred thouſand Men, the *Spartans* ſent out *Leonidas* with a Party of three huudred Souldiers to ſecu re the Paſs of the *Thermopylæ*. As they were at Dinner the *Barbarians* fell in upon them; upon which, *Leonidas*, bad them eat heartily, for they were to ſup in another World. *Leonidas* charg'd in the Head of his Men into the Body of the *Barbarians*, and after many Wounds receiv'd, got up to *Xerxes* himſelf, and took his Crown from his Head. He loſt his Life in the Attempt, and *Xerxes* cauſing him to be cut up when he was dead, ound his Heart all hairy. *Ariſtides*, in the Firſt Book of his *Perſian* Hiſtory.

In the *Punic* War the *Romans* ſent out three hundred Meu under the command of *Fabius Maximus*, where they were all loſt, and he himſelf, after he had receiv'd a mortal Wound, aſſaulted *Hannibal*, took his Diadem from his Head, & died in the Action, according to *Ar. M.*

There was a terribble Earthquake, with a wonderful Eruption of Water, at *Celæna*, a City of *Phrygia*, that ſwallow'd up a great many Houſes, People and all. *Midas* upon this, conſults the *Oracle*, which gave him for anſwer, *That if he would caſt into that Gulph the moſt precious thing that he had in the World, the Earth ſhould cloſe again.* Whereupon he threw in a Maſs of Gold and Silver, but never the better. This put it in the Head of *Anchyrus*, the Son of *Midas*, to conſider, that the moſt precious thing in Nature, is the Life and Soul of a Man; ſo that he went preſently and embraced his Father and his Wife *Timothea*, and mounted his Horſe, and leapt into the Abyſs: The Earth clos'd upon it, and *Midas* rais'd a Golden Altar in the Place, laid his Hand upon it, and dedicated it [TO *JUPITER IDÆUS*.] This Altar becomes Stone at that time of the

the Year when it was uſual to have theſe Eruptions; and after that Seaſon was over, it was turn'd to Gold again. My Author is *Calliſthenes*, in his ſecond Book of *Tranſformations*.

The River *Tiber*, in its Courſe over the *Forum*, open'd a huge Cavity in the Ground, ſo that a great many Houſes were buried in it. This was lookt upon as a Judgment upon the Place, from *Jupiter Tarſius*; who, as the *Oracle* told them, was not to be appeas'd without throwing into it what they held moſt valuable. So they threw a quantity of Gold and Silver into it. But *Curtius*, one of the braveſt young Men they had, gave a better Gueſs at the mind of the *Oracle*, and reflecting upon it, that the Life of a Man was much more excellent than Treaſure, took his Horſe, and plung'd himſelf into the Gulf, and ſo redeem'd his Country *Ariſtides* in the Fortieth Book of his *Italian* Hiſtory.

As ſeveral great Captains were making merry with *Polynices*, an Eagle paſſing by, made a ſtoop, and carried up into the Air the Lance of *Amphiaraus*, who was one of the Company, and then letting it fall down, it ſtuck in the Ground, and was turn'd into a Laurel. The next Day, when the Armies were in Action, the Earth opened and ſwallowed up *Amphiaraus* with his Chariot, in that very place, where at preſent the City *Herma* ſtands, ſo call'd from that Chariot. This is in *Triſimachus* his Third Book of the Foundations of Cities.

When the *Romans* made War upon *Pyrrhus*, the King of the *Epirotes*, the *Oracle* promis'd *Æmilius Paulus* the victory, in caſe he ſhould erect an Altar in that place where he ſhould ſee an eminent Man with his Chariot ſwallow'd up into the Ground. Some three days after, *Valerius Conatus*, a Man of a Divine Spirit, was commanded in a Dream to take the *Pontifical Habit* upon him. He did ſo, and led his Men into the Battle, where after a prodigious Slaughter of the Enemy, the Earth open'd and ſwallow'd him up. *Æmilius* built an Altar here, obtain'd a great Victory, and ſent a hundred and ſixty Caſtle-beating Elephants to *Rome*. This Altar delivers *Oracles* about that Seaſon of the Year in which

Pyrrhus

Pyrrhus was overcome. *Critolaus* has this in his Third Book of his Hiſtory of the *Epyrotes*.

Pyraichnes, King of the *Eubœans* made War upon the *Bœotians*. *Hercules*, when he was yet a Youth, overcame this King, had him drawn to pieces with Horſes, and threw away the Carcaſe unburied. The Place where this was done is call'd [*Pyraichnes his Horſes*] It lies upon the River *Heraclius*, and there is heard a Neighing whenſoever any Horſe drinks of that River. This is in *The third Book of* Rivers.

Tullus Hoſtilius, a King of the *Romans*, wag'd War againſt the *Albans*, whoſe Kings Name was *Metius Fubentius*, and he many times kept off from fighting. He had the ill luck to be once worſted, upon which the *Albans* gave themſelves up to Drinking and making good Cheer, till *Tullus* fell in upon them when they were in their Cups, and tore their King to pieces betwixt two Horſes. *Alexarchus*, in the 4*th*. Book of his *Italian* Hiſtory.

Philip had a Deſign to make himſelf Maſter of *Olynthus* and *Methone*, and in trying to paſs the River *Sandanus*, was ſhot with an Arrow by one *Aſter* an *Olynthian*, with theſe Words [*It is* Aſter *that ſends* Philip *this mortal Shaft.*] *Philip*, upon this, ſwam back again to his own People, and with the loſs of an Eye ſav'd his Life. *Calliſthenes*, in his 3*d* of his *Macedonics*.

Porſena made War upon the *Romans*, and pitcht his Camp on the further ſide of the *Tiber*, where he intercepted all Relief, till they were pincht with Famine. *Horatius Cocles* took poſſeſſion of a Wooden Bridge, where he oppos'd himſelf to the Enemy that were preſſing to come over; but finding himſelf over-power'd with Numbers, he commanded his People to cut down the Bridge behind him, by which means he hindred them from coming over, but in the mean time receiving a Wound in his Eye, he threw himſelf into the River and ſwam over to his own Party. So *Theotimus* in the Second Book of his *Italian* Hiſtory.

Eratoſthenes, in *Erigone*, tells a Story of *Icarius*, that entertain'd *Bacchus* under his Roof; and it runs thus. *Saturn* having taking up his Lodging with an Husband-

man

man who had a very beautiful Daughter, took her to his bed, and had ſeveral Sons by her, as *Janius*, *Hymnus*, *Fauſtus*, and *Felix*. He taught his Hoſt *Icarius* the Uſe of Wine, and the way of Dreſſing his Vines with a Charge that he ſhould likewiſe inſtruct his Neighbors in the Myſtery. His Acquaintance hereupon finding that this ſtrange Drink had caſt them into a deeper Sleep than ordinary, took a Fancy that they were poyſon'd, and ſton'd *Icarius* in Revenge, whereupon his Grand-Children hang'd themſelves for Grief.

Upon a time, when the Plague was very hot in *Rome*, the *Pythian Oracle* being conſulted, gave this Anſwer, That upon the appeaſing the Wrath of *Saturn*, and the *Genii* of thoſe that were unjuſtly kill'd, the Peſtilence would ceaſe. *Lutatius Catulus*, a Man of the firſt Quality, cauſed a Temple upon this Occaſion to be erected near the *Tarpeian Mount*, which he dedicated to *Saturn*, placing an Altar in it, with four Faces; poſſibly with a reſpect to *Saturn*'s four Children, or to the Four Seaſons of the Year. He alſo inſtituted the Month of *January*; but *Saturn* tranſlated them all to Heaven among the Stars, ſome of which are call'd *Protrigetree*, as *Forerunners of the Vintage*; only *Janus* riſes firſt, and has his Place at the Feet of the Virgin *Critolaus* in his Fourth Book of Cœleſtial Appearances.

In the time of the Deva ſtation of *Greece* by the *Perſians* *Pauſanias*, a *Lacedemonian* Commander, took a Bribe of 500 Talents of *Xerxes* to betray *Sparta*. The Treaſon being diſcover'd, his Father *Ageſilaus* preſt him ſo hard, that he was fain to take Sanctuary in the Temple of *Minerva*, call'd *Calciacos*, where he caus'd the Doors to be brickt up, and his Son to be immur'd till he dy'd of Hunger, and his Mother after this would not ſuffer the Body to be buried *Chryſermus*. in his Second Book of his Hiſtories.

The *Romans* being in War with the *Latins*, made choice of *P. Decius* for their General. Now there was a certain *Patrician*, a young Man, and poor (*Caſſius Brutus* by Name) who propos'd for a certain Reward to open the Gates to the Enemy, but being detected, he fled to the Temple of *Minerva Auxiliaria*: But his Fa-

ther *Caſſius*, an Enſign-bearer. ſhut him up there till he died of Famine, and his dead Body was not allow'd Burial. *Clitonimus*, in his *Italian* Hiſtory.

Darius the *Perſian*, had a Battle with *Alexander* near the River *Granicus*, where he loſt ſeven eminent Governours, and upward of five hundred armed Chariots; and yet would have tried the Fortune of another Battle the Day following: But his Son *Ariobarzanus*, in Favour of *Alexander*, undertook to betray his Father into his Hands. The Father was ſo tranſported with Paſſion at the Indignity of the thing, that he cut off his Son's Head for't. *Aretides Cnidius*, in the Third of his *Macedonian* Hiſtory.

Brutus, that was created Conſul by the unanimous Vote of the Citizens, forc'd away *Tarquinius Superbus* into Baniſhment, for his abominable Tyranny. He fled to the *Tuſcans*, and by their Aſſiſtance made War upon the *Romans*. The Sons were treating to betray the Father; the Buſineſs was diſcover'd, and they loſt their Heads for it. *Ariſtides Mileſius*, in his *Italian* Hiſtory.

Epaminondas, a *Theban* General, manag'd a War againſt the *Spartans*. He went from the Army to *Thebes*, to be preſent there at a publick Election of Magiſtrates, but firſt enjoin'd his Son *Steſimbrotus*, that he ſhould not fight the Enemy in his Abſence, upon any Terms. The *Spartans* being inform'd that *Epaminondas* was not with th' Army reproacht the young Man with want of Courage, and ſo far provok'd him, that without any regard to his Fathers Command, he gave the *Spartans* Battle, and overcame them. His Father was ſo incens'd againſt him for this Action, that though he Crown'd him for the Victory, he cut off his Head for his Diſobedience. *Cteſiphon*, in his Third Book of the *Bœotian* Hiſtory.

In a War that the *Romans* had againſt the *Samnites*, they gave the Command to *Manlius*, ſurnamed *Imperioſus*. He had occaſion to go to *Rome*, to be preſent there at the Choice of *Conſuls*, and gave his Son in charge, not to engage the Enemy in the mean time. The *Samnites* underſtanding this, irritated the young Man with opprobrious Words, as if he declin'd fighting

ing out of Cowardize, and in the end provok'd him to a Battle, upon which action he carried the Day; but his Father caus'd his Head to be ſtruck off for breaking his Order. This is in *Ariſtides Mileſius*.

Hercules made Love to *Iole*, but ſhe gave him the Repulſe, and ſo he went and aſſaulted *Oechalia*. *Iole* threw her ſelf head-long down from the Wall, but the Whiffling of the Wind under her Garments broke the Fall, and ſhe had no Hurt. This Story is in *Nic. Meleotes*.

Valerius Torquatus was the *Romans* General in the War they had with the *Tuſcans*, who, upon the ſight of *Cluſia*, the Daughter of the *Tuſcan* King, fell in Love with her, and when he found he could do no good on't, laid Siege to the City. *Cluſia*, upon this, threw her ſelf head-long from a Tower; but *Venus* was ſo careful of her, that by the playing of the Wind in the Folds of her Garments ſhe was wafted ſafe to the Ground. *Torquatus* however offer'd her Violence, and for ſo doing, he was Baniſh'd by a Publick Decree into the Iſle of *Corſica*. *Theophilus*, in the Third Book of his *Italian* Hiſtory.

While the *Carthaginians* were treating an Alliance with the *Sicilians* againſt the *Romans*, the *Roman* General, *Metellus*, was obſerv'd to omit Sacrificing only to *Veſta*, who reveng'd her ſelf upon him, by ſending a croſs Wind to the Navy: But *Caius Julius*, a Sooth-ſayer, being conſulted in the Matter, gave anſwer, that this Obſtacle would be remov'd upon the Generals Sacrificing his Daughter; ſo that he was forc'd to produce his Daughter *Metella* for a Sacrifice. But *Veſta* had Compaſſion for her, and ſo ſent her away to *Lamuſium*, ſubſtituting a Heifer in her ſtead, and made a Prieſteſs of her to the *Dragon* that is worſhipt in that Place. So *Pythocles*, in the Third Book of his *Italian* Hiſtory.

Something like this happened to *Iphigenia* in *Aulis*, a City of *Bœotia*. See *Meriſſus*, in the firſt Book of his *Bœotic* Hiſtory.

Brennus, a King of the *Gauls*, after the waſting of *Aſia*, came to *Epheſus*, and there fell in Love with a Country Girl, who promiſed him, that for ſuch a certain Reward in Bracelets, and other Curioſities of Value, he

ſhould have the Life of her Body, and that ſhe would further undertake to deliver up *Epheſus* into his Hands. *Buennus* order'd his Soldiers to throw all the Gold they had into the Lap of this avaritious Wretch, which they did, 'till ſhe periſh'd under the Weight of it. *Clytophon*, in the firſt Book of his *Gallican* Hiſtory.

Tarpeia, a Virgin that was well Born, and had the keeping of the Capitol in the War betwixt the *Sabines* and the *Romans*, paſt a Promiſe unto *Tatius*, that ſhe would open him a Paſſage into the *Tarpeian Mount*, provided that he would give her all the Jewels that the *Sabines* wore, for a Reward. The *Sabines* hearing this, took her alive, and buried her under the Weight of her Rings and precious Ornaments. *Ariſtides Mileſius*, in his *Italie* Story.

After a long War betwixt two Cities, *Tegea* and *Phenea*, they came to an Agreement, to refer the Deciſion of the Controverſie, by Combat, to three Twin-Brothers on each ſide, the Sons of *Reximachus* for *Tegea*, and for *Phenea*, the Sons of *Damoſtratus*. Upon the encounter, two of the Sons of *Reximachus* were ſlain; but *Critolaus*, the third, had a Fetch beyond his two Brothers; for, under a Pretence of running away, he divided his Enemies that purſued him, and ſo taking them one by one, he kill'd them all. The *Tegeans* upon his Return, went all over-joy'd to gratulate the Victor, only his Siſter *Demodice* was not ſo well pleas'd; for ſhe was betroth'd, it ſeems to *Demoticus*, one of the Brothers that was now ſlain: Which *Critolaus* took ſo ill, that he kill'd his Siſter, and being afterwards Indicted for Murder, his Mother acquitted him. *Demaratus* in his Second Book of the *Arcadian* Hiſtory.

In the heat of the War betwixt the *Romans* and *Albans*, they came to this Agreement, that the Cauſe ſhould be determin'd by a Tryal at Arms, betwixt three and three Twins on each ſide, the *Curiatii* for the *Albans*, and the *Horatii* for the *Romans*. Upon the encounter, the *Curiatii* kill'd two of the other; the third Survivor, under the Colour of flying, deſtroy'd his Enemies, one by one as they follow'd him. All his Friends came to joy

joy him of his Victory, ſave only his Siſter *Horatia*; for one of the *Curiatii*, that her Brother kill'd, was her Sweet-heart. *Horatius* for this, kill'd his Siſter. *Ariſtides Mileſius.* in his *Italian* Commentaries.

The Temple of *Minerva* in *Ilium* happen'd to be a-fire. *Ilus* ran preſently to ſave the *Paladium* (an Image dropt from Heaven) but upon the taking of it up, he was ſtruck Blind; it being a thing unlawful for any Man to look upon; but upon appeaſing the Deity, he was afterwards reſtor'd to his Sight. *Dercyllus*, in his firſt Book of Foundations.

Metellus, an eminent Man, as he was walking out of the City, was interrupted by Ravens that laid hold of him, and kept a flapping of him with their Wings. This *Omen* ſurpris'd him, and back he went into the City again, where he found the Temple of *Veſta* all in a Flame. He went and took away the *Palladium*, and fell Blind upon't. But ſome time after, the Goddeſs being pacified, gave him the uſe of his Eyes again. *Ariſtides Mileſius* in his *Italian* Hiſtory.

Upon a time, when the *Thraſians* were engag'd in a War againſt the *Athenians*, the *Oracle* promis'd them Victory, if they would but ſave the Life of *Codrus*, *Codrus*, upon this, puts himſelf in a courſe Diſguiſe, and away he goes into the Enemies Camp, with a Scythe in his Hand, where he kill'd one, and another kill'd him, ſo that the *Athenians* got the better on't. *Socrates*, in the ſecond Book of his *Thraſian* Hiſtory.

P. Deſius, a *Roman*, at a time when they were in War with the *Albans*, had a Dream, that his Death would bring a great Advantage to the *Romans*: Upon which Conſideration, he charged into the middle of his Enemies, where he killed many, and was ſlain himſelf: His Son *Decius* did the like in the *Gallick* War, for the Conſervation of the *Roman* State. *Ariſtides Mileſius* is my Author.

There was one *Cyanippus* a *Syracuſian*, that Sacrificed to all the Gods but *Bacchus*, who took the Contempt heinouſly, that he made him drunk, in which Fit, he got his Daughter *Cyane* into a Corner and lay

with her; ſhe in the mean time ſlipt his Ring off his Finger, and gave it to her Nurſe to keep, as a Circumſtance that ſome time or other might come to be brought in evidence. There brake out a Peſtilence, and the *Pythian Oracle* advis'd the Sacrificing of an Inceſtuous Perſon to the Gods that are the Averters of ſuch Calamities, as the only Remedy. *Cyane*, that underſtood the Meauing of the Oracle better than other People, took her Father by the Hair of the Head, firſt ſtabbing him, and then her ſelf. *Doſitheus*, in the third Book of his *Sicilian* Hiſtory.

In the time of celebrating the *Bacchanalia* at *Rome*, *Aruntius*, that had never drunk any Wine ſince he was born, did not ſhew that Reverence for the Power of the God as he ought to have done, ſo that *Bacchus* intoxicated him, and in that Freak, *Aruntius* raviſht his Daughter *Medullina*. She came to know the Raviſher by his Ring, and an Exploit came into her Head, above what from her Age could have been expected. She made her Father drunk, and ſet a Garland upon his Head, carrying him to the Altar of *Thunder*, where with Tears ſhe kill'd him for robbing her ſo Treacherouſly of her Virginity. *Ariſtides*, in his Third Book of his *Italian* Hiſtory.

Erechtheus was told in a War he had with *Eumolpus*, that he ſhould have the better of his Enemy, if he would but Sacrifice his Daughter. He advis'd upon the Matter with his Wife *Praxithea*, and deliver'd up his Daughter after the manner of a common Sacrifice. *Eripides* in his *Erechtheus*.

Marius finding himſelf hard put to't in the *Cimbrian* War, had it reveal'd to him in a Dream, that he ſhould overcome his Enemies, if he would but Sacrifice his Daughter *Calpurnia*: He did it (preferring the common Safety before any private Bond of Nature) and he got the Victory. There are two Altars in *Germany*, where about that time of the Year, may be heard the Sound of Trumpets. *Dorotheus*, in the fourth Book of his *Italian* Hiſtory.

There

There was one *Cyanippus*, a *Theſſalian*, a great Lover of the Chaſe, and was often abroad a-hunting. This ſame *Cyanippus* was newly Married, and his ſtaying out ſo long, and ſo often in the Woods, gave his Wife a Jealouſie of an intreague there with ſome other Woman: inſomuch that ſhe follow'd him one time, and got into a Thicket to watch him. The Ruſtling of the Boughs in the Place where ſhe lay, brought the Dogs thither, in expectation of ſome Game, where they tore this tender-hearted Woman to pieces, as if ſhe had been a bruit-Beaſt. *Cyanippus* was ſo ſurpriz'd with ſo diſmal and unthought-of a Spectacle, that he kill'd himſelf. *Parthenius* the Poet.

Sybaris is a City of *Italy*, where there was one *Æmilius*, a very handſome young Man, and a Lover of Hunting. His Wife (whom he had lately married) took up a Suſpition that under colour of the Chaſe, he carrry'd on an Aſſignation with ſome other Woman. She trac'd him to the Wood, and upon the Noiſe of the Boughs in her Paſſage, the Dogs ran preſently to her, and worried her, and her Husband ſtabb'd himſelf immediately upon this miſerable Accident. *Clitonimus*, in the ſecond Book of his *Sybaritics*.

One *Smyrna* (to whom *Venus* ow'd a Shame, it ſeems) fell paſſionately in Love with her Father, and made the Nurſe her Confident. She goes craftily to work with her Maſter, and tells him of a Maid there in the Neighbourhood, that lov'd him above all things in the World; but ſhe could not in Modeſty appear publickly to him: So the Father lay ignorantly with his own Daughter. But ſome time after, having a great mind to ſee his Miſtriſs, he call'd for a Light, and when he ſaw who it was, he purſued the Inceſtuous Wretch with his drawn Sword; but by the Providence of *Venus*, ſhe was reſcu'd from that Danger, and turn'd into a *Myrtle Tree*; *Theodorus*, in his Transformations.

One *Valeria Tuſculanaria* (for whom *Venus* had no Kindneſs) fell down-right in Love with her Father *Valerius*. She told the Nurſe the Secret, who order'd it ſo, that ſhe brought the Father and the Daughter together,

telling him, that a Maid there hard by, was fallen deſperately in Love with him, but that ſhe durſt not lie with him for fear of being knovvn. The Father was got into his Cups, and as he was in Bed with his Daughter, call'd for a Candle. The Nurſe wak'd *Valeria*, and away ſhe goes wandring up and down the Country with her great Belly. She had at laſt a Fall from a Precipice, but ſcap'd without ſo much as any Miſcarriage; for ſhe was deliver'd at her time, and the Childs Name was *Sylvanus* (in Greek, *Ægipanes.*) *Valerius*, in the Anxiety of his Mind, threw himſelf from the ſame Precipice. *Ariſtides Mileſius*, in the Third book of his *Italian Hiſtory*.

Diomedes, after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, was caſt by ſtreſs of Weather upon the Coaſt of *Libya*, where *Lycus* the Son of *Mars* was King, whoſe Cuſtom it was to Sacrifice all Strangers to his Father; but his Daughter *Callirrhoe* falling in Love with *Diomede* betray'd her Father, and ſet *Diomede* at liberty; who preſently went his way without any regard to his Benefactreſs, and *Callirrhoe* hang'd her ſelf upon it. *Juba*, Book the Third, of his *Libyan Hiſtory*.

Calpurnius Craſſius a famous Man, bearing Arms with *Regulus*, was ſent to the *Maſſilians*, to attack the Caſtle of *Garetius* being a very ſtrong place. He was taken in the Enterprize, and deſign'd for a Sacrifice to *Saturn*; but *Byſatia*, the Kings Daughter, out of a paſſionate kindneſs to *Calpurnus*, betray'd her Father. *Calpurnus* left her, and after his departure *Byſatia* cut her own Throat. *Hegeſianax*'s Third Book of the *African Hiſtory*.

When *Priamus* found that *Troy* was given for loſt, he ſent his young Son *Polydore* into *Thracia* with a vaſt ſum of Gold, and put all into the hands af *Polymeſtor* his Kinſman. So ſoon as *Troy* was taken, *Polymeſtor* kill'd the Child, and took the Gold to himſelf. *Hecuba*, being driven upon that quarter, over-reach'd *Polymeſter*, by craft, under pretence of giving him a great Treaſure, at which time ſhe, with the Aſſiſtance of her Fellow-Priſoners, tore out his Eyes with her Nails. *Euripides* the *Tragedion*.

When

When *Hannibal* was ravaging the Country of *Campania*, *L. Thymbris* depoſited his Son *Ruſhius*, with a vaſt Sum of Money in the hands of *Valerius Geſtius* his Kinſman, who upon Intelligence that the Enemy carry'd all before him, out of pure avarice, and without any regard to Humanity or Juſtice, kill'd the Child. It ſo fell out that *Tymbris* as he was walking about the Fields found the Dead Body of his Son; Whereupon he call'd his Kinſman under pretence of a Treaſure that he would ſhew him: He took his opportunity, put out his Eyes, and hung him up upon a Gibbet. *Ariſtides*'s Third Book of his *Italick* Hiſtory.

Æacus had two Sons by *Pſammathe*, *Phocus* and *Telamon*, the former better belov'd than the other. *Telamon* one day took out his Brother a Hunting, and a Boar preſenting himſelf, he threw his Lance in pretence at the Boar, but in truth at his Brother, whom he hated, and ſo kill'd him; for which his Father baniſh'd him. *Dorotheus*'s Firſt Book of *Transformations*.

Cajus Maximus had two Sons, *Reſus* the one by *Ameria*, whoſe Sir-name was *Conon*, and the other *Similius*. The Brothers were a Hunting together, and *Reſus* having kill'd the other, put it off when he came at home, that it was by chance, and far from any deſign of doing it: But his Father, when he came in time to know the truth of it, baniſh'd the Son. *Ariſtocles* in the Third Book of his *Italian* Hiſtory.

Mars is ſaid to have begotten *Meleager* upon *Althea*. *Eripides* in his *Meleager*.

Septimius Marcellus took to Wife one *Sylvia*, and a great Lover of Hunting he was. *Mars* put himſelf in the Habit of a Shepherd, whor'd his new Wife and got her with Child: Which being done, he told her who he Was, and gave her a Brand, telling her that the Fate of the Child ſhe went withal, was wrap'd up in the Fate of that Brand. *Septimius* ſlew *Tuſcinus*, but *Mammercus*, in his Sacrificing to the Gods for a fruitful Seaſon, omitted only *Ceres*, who in revenge ſent a Wild Boar into his Grounds: Whereupon a knot of Huntſmen got together and killed him, and deliver'd the

the Head and the Skin to his Sweet-heart; But *Simbrotee* and *Muthias* the Maid's Uncles, took them away from her. *Mammercus* in a rage kill'd them upon it, and the Mother burnt the Brand. *Merylus* in the Third Book of his *Italian* Hiſtory.

When *Telamon* the Son of *Æacus* and *Endeis* came to *Eubœa*, he debauch'd *Peribœa* the Daughter of *Alcathous*, and fled away by Night. The Father underſtanding this, and ſuſpecting the Villiany to be done by ſome of the Citizens, he deliver'd his Dauahter to one of the Guards to be thrown into the Sea: But the Soldier in compaſſion to the Woman, rather ſold her, and ſhe was carried away by Sea to the Iſland of *Salumina*, where *Telamon* bought her, and had by her, *Ajax*. *Aretades Cnidius* in his ſecond Book of *Iſlands*.

L. Troſcius had by *Patris* a Daughtet call'd *Florentia*, who being corrupted by *Calpurnius a Roman*, was deliver'd by her Father to a Soldier, with a charge to throw her in the Sea, and drown her. The Man had compaſſion of her, and rather ſold her: *Calpurnius* bought her, and had *Contruſcus* by her.

Æolus a great King of *Itruria* had by *Amphithea* ſix Daughters and as many Sons. *Macarius*, the youngeſt of them, had the carnal knowledge of one of his Siſters who was deliver'd of a Boy. Her Father ſent her a Sword to kill the Child with, but that was ſo impious, that ſhe chuſe rather to kill her ſelf: And *Macarius* laid violent hands upon himſelf too. *Soſtratus*'s ſecond Book of his *Tuſcan Hiſtory*.

Papirius Volucer Married *Julia Pulchra*, by whom ſhe had ſix Sons and ſix Daughters. *Papirius Romanus*, the eldeſt of the ſix, got *Canulia* his Siſter with Child. When the Father came to the knowledge of it, he ſent his Daughter a Sword, with which ſhe kill'd her ſelf, and *Romanus* did the ſame. *Chryſippus*'s firſt Book of his *Italian* Hiſtory.

Ariſtonymus an *Epheſian* and the Son of *Demoſtratus*, was a Woman-hater, but had to do with an Aſs, which brought him forth in the ordinray courſe of time, a

moſt

moſt beautiful Daughter which he call'd *Onoſcelis*. *Ariſtotle's* ſecond Book of *Paradoxes*.

Fulvius Stellus had an averſion to Woman too, but entertain'd himſelf to his Satisfaction with a Mare, by which he had a very handſom Daughter, that he call'd *Hippena*, and this is the Goddeſs that has the care of the breed of Horſes; According to *Ageſilaus* in the third Book of his *Italian* Hiſtory.

The *Sardians* being engag'd in War with the *Smyrnæans*, Beſieg'd *Smyrna*; and ſent them word by the Ambaſſadors, that they would never raiſe the Siege, till the *Smyrnæans* ſhould deliver up their Wives to their Embraces. The Men of *Smyrna* would have been hard put to it upon this pinching neceſſity, if it had not been for the advice of a pretty Wench that was a Maid-Servant to *Phylarchus*. Her Council to her Maſter, was this; that inſtead of ſending free Women, they ſhould rather dreſs up the Servants and ſend them. The *Smyrnæans* follow'd her advice, and when the *Sardians* had wearied themſelves with their Miſtreſſes, the *Smyrnæans* eaſily overcome them: From whence there is a Feſtival day obſerv'd under the name of *Eleutheria*, which is celebrated among the *Smyrnæans* with great Solemnity, the Servants being dreſt up with all the Ornaments of the Free Women. *Doſitheus* in the Third Book of his *Lydian* Hiſtory.

Atepomarus, a King of the *Gauls*, being in War with the *Romans*, made a Public Declaration that he would never agree to a Peace, till the *Romans* ſhould proſtitute their Wives to them. The *Romans* advis'd with the Maid-ſervants, and ſent them in the Place of the Free-Women; the *Barbarians* ply'd the Work ſo hard, that they were even tir'd and fel aſleep. *Retana* (who was the Authoaeſs of the Council) climb'd a Fig-tree, and ſo got on the Wall, and finding how it was gave notice of it to the Conſuls. The *Romans* upon this made a Sally and routed the Enemy; in Memory whereof was inſtituted the *Servants Holiday*, and this was the riſe of it. *Ariſtides Mileſius* Book 1*ſt*. Hiſt. *Ital*.

In the War betwixt the *Athenians* and *Eumolpus*, Proviſions falling ſhort, the Commiſſary *Pyrandea*, upon a point of Prudence and good Husbandry, made ſome ſmall abatement in the Souldiers Proportions: The Citizens ſuſpected Treachery in the caſe, and Ston'd him to Death. *Calliſthenes*'s Third Book, *Hiſt. Thrace.*

The *Romans* being in War with the *Gauls*, and Proviſions for the Belly being very ſcarce, *Cinna* contracted the Soldiers allowance to a leſs proyortion than they had formerly: The Citizens interpreted this abatement to be an ambitious Deſign he had upon the Government, and ſo Ston'd him for it. *Ariſtides*, Book 3*d. Hiſt. Ital.*

In the time of the *Peloponneſian* War, *Piſiſtratus* an *Orchomenian*, had a ſpite at the Nobility, and to make himſelf popular, favour'd the Common People. The Senate conſpir'd againſt him, and treacherouſly kill'd him, cutting him into ſmall Gobbets that they carried away with them in their Boſoms, and paring off the Surface of the Ground that no ſigns of the Murder might appear. The Common People however upon a jealouſie of the Matter, went tumultuouſly to the Senate houſe, but the Kings younger Son *Teleſimachus* that was dipt in the Conſpiracy, diverted them with a ſham-ſtory, telling them, that he himſelf had ſeen his Father in a form more than human, walking as lively as was poſſible up the *Piſæan* Mountain: And ſo he impos'd upon the People: *Theophilus*'s 2*d* Book *Hiſt. Pelopon.*

The Senate of *Rome* being hard put to it for the maintaining of a War with ſo many of their Neighbours, thought it good Husbandry to ſhorten the People's allowance of Corn, which *Romulus* took very ill, and did not only reſtore it to the People, but ſeveral great Men were puniſht for it. Upon this he was murder'd in the *Senate* by a Conſpiracy of the Nobles, who cut him all to pieces, and carried them ſeverally away in the lappets of their Garments. The *Romans* came to the Court in a hurry, and brought Fire with them to ſet all in a flame; but *Julius Proculus*, one that was in the Plot, told them, that he ſaw *Romulus* upon a Mountain of a ſize larger than any Man, and that he was tranſlated into the

the Number of the Gods. The *Romans* believ'd him and quietly withdrew. *Ariſtob.* in the 3*d* Book *Hiſt. Ital.*

Pelops the Son of *Tantalus* and *Euryanaſſa*, had two Children, *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes*, by his Wife *Hippodomia*; and by his Miſtreſs *Danais* he had *Chriſippus*, whom he lov'd better than his lawful Children: But *Laius* a *Theban*, in the heat of his luſt forcibly abus'd his body, and being taken by *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes*, obtain'd his Pardon yet from *Pelops*, in regard that Love had provok'd him to it *Hippodamia*'s Advice to *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes* was, that they ſhould kill *Chryſippus*, as one that would interpoſe between them and the Crown. Upon the refuſal to do ſo baſe a thing, ſhe her ſelf put her own hands to the work, and in the dead of the Night took *Laius* his Sword when he was aſleep, wounded *Chryſippus* with it, and left the Weapon in his Body. This circumſtance of *Laius* his Sword brought him into a Suſpicion of the Murder, till he was clear'd by *Chryſippus* himſelf, who being as yet but half dead, gave his teſtimony to the Truth. *Pelops* buried his Son, and then baniſht his Wife. *Doſitheus* in his *Polopidæ*.

Ebius Toliex had two Sons by his Wife *Nuceria*, and the third call'd *Firmus* by an Enfranchis'd Woman who was very handſom, and better belov'd by the Father than thoſe that were legitimate: *Nuceria* that hated this By-blow, adviſ'd her Sons to diſpatch *Firmus*; but upon the refuſal ſhe did it her ſelf, and in the depth of the Night got the Sword of him that guarded the Body of *Firmus*, gave him a mortal Wound, and left the Weapon ſticking in his Body. The Boy clear'd his Keeper by a particular Account of the Matter of Fact; the Father buried his Son, and ſent away his Wife into Baniſhment: *Doſitheus* Book 3*d Hiſt. Ital.*

Theſeus the Son of *Neptune* and *Hippolitus* by the Amazon *Hippolyta*, and afterward married *Phædra* the Daughter of *Minos*, who fell deep in Love with *Hippolytus*, and made uſe of the Nurſe's Mediation to help forward the Inceſt. But *Hippolytus* upon this left *Athens* and went away to *Trazen*, where he diverted himſelf with Hunting: Now this laſcivious Woman finding her

her deſign diſappointed, forg'd ſeveral ſcandalous Letters to the prejudice of the chaſte young Man, and ended her days with a Halter. *Theſeus* gave Credit to the Slander, and *Neptune* having promis'd him a grant of any three things he would ask, he made it his requeſt that he would deſtroy *Hippolitus*. So *Neptune* ſent a Bull to the Coaſt where *Hippolytus* was driving his Chariot, which put his Horſes into ſuch a fright, that they ran away with them, and over-turning the Chariot kill'd the Maſter.

Comminius Super a Laurentine, had a Son which he call'd *Comminius* by the Nymph *Egeria*, after which he married one *Gidica* who fell paſſionately in Love with her Son-in Law, and receiving a repulſe, ſhe fram'd ſlanderous Letters againſt him which ſhe left behind her, and ſo hang'd her ſelf, *Comminius* reflecting upon the Crime, and believing the Calumny, applied himſelf to *Neptune*, who with a terrible Bull frighted the Horſes ſo, while the Youth was in the Chariot, that they overturn'd all, and kill'd him with the fall. *Doſitheus* Book 3*d. Hiſt. Ital.*

In the time of a Great Plague in *Lacedæmon* they were told by the *Oracle*, that the Peſtilence would ceaſe upon the Sacrificing of a Noble Virgin according to Cuſtom: It fell one time by lot to *Helena*, who was brought out and dreſt up ready for the Sacrifice: An Eagle at that time Flying by took away the Sword, and carrying it into an herd of Cattle, laid it down upon an Heifer, Whereupon they ſpar'd the Virgin. *Ariſtodemus* in his Third Collection of *Fables*.

There was a dreadful Plague in *Phulerii*, which the *Oracle* ſaid would be remov'd upon the Sacrificing of a Virgin to *Juno* every Year. While this Superſtition was in courſe, it fell to *Valeria Luperca's* lot to be the Sacrifice. An Eagle flew away with the drawn Sword, and laid it upon an Heifer feeding near the Temple. And there being a ſtick laid upon the fewel prepar'd for the fire with a little Mallet fix'd to it, the Virgin aſſiſted at the Sacrificing of the Heifer, and taking up the Mallet went about from Houſe to Houſe, and with a gentle

a gentle knock call'd to thoſe that were ſick, bidding them *be of good health*. And this was the riſe of the Ceremony which continues to this day. *Ariſtides*'s 19*th. Book Hiſt. Italian.*

Philonome the Daughter of *Nyctimus* and *Arcadia*, went in many times to the Chace with *Diana*. *Mars* lay with her in the ſhape of a Shepherd, and fetcht up her Belly: She was deliver'd in time of two Twins, which for fear of her Father ſhe threw into the River *Erimanthus*, but by a ſtrange Fatality of Providence they were driven ſafe into a hollow Oak, which happening to be the Kennel of a Wolf, this Wolf threw her Whelps into the River and Suckled the Children. *Tyliphus* a Shepherd that had ſeen this with his own Eyes, took theſe Children and brought them up as his own, calling one of them *Lycaſtus*, and the other *Parraſius* which reign'd ſucceſſively in *Arcadia*. This is reported by *Zopyrus Byzantius* in the Third Book of his Hiſtories.

Amulius dealing very Tyrannically with his Brother *Numitor*, kill'd his Son *Anytus*, as they were a-Hunting, and made his Daughter *Sylvia Julia* a Prieſteſs of *Juno*: *Mars* got her with Child, and when ſhe had laid her Belly of two Twins, ſhe confeſt the Truth to the Tyrant, which put him in ſuch an apprehenſion that he expos'd them both on the ſide of the River *Tiber*, where they were carried by the ſtream to a place where a ſhe-Wolf had her Whelps. The Wolf caſt away her own, and gave Suck to theſe Children. *Fauſtus* obſerving this, took the Children to himſelf, and call'd them by the Names of *Remus* and *Romulus* which came afterwards to be the Founders of *Rome*. *Ariſtides*'s Hiſt. *Italian.*

After the Deſtruction of *Troy*, *Agamemnon* and *Caſſandra* were kill'd, but *Oreſtes* that was brought up with *Strophius* reveng'd the death of his Father. *Pyrander*'s Fourth *Peloponeſ.*

Fabius Fabricianus of the Houſe of *Maximus*, having taken *Tuxium* the chief City of the *Samnites*, ſent to *Rome* the Image of *Venus Victrix*, which among them was held in great veneration. His Wife *Fabia* was debauch'd by *Petronius Valentinus* a handſome Young-

man,

man, and afterwards ſhe treacherouſly Murther'd her Husband; but for her Son *Fabricianus* who was yet in his Infancy, ſhe ſhifted him away to be privately brought up, and ſo provided for his Security. When he was grown up, he deſtroy'd both his Mother and the Adulterer, and was formally acquitted for it by a Decree of the Senate. *Doſitheus*'s Third Book *Hiſtory Italian.*

Buſiris the Son of *Neptune* and *Anippe* the Daughter of *Nilus*, was us'd to invite ſtrangers in to him under a pretence of Hoſpitality, and then to Murther them; but Divine vengeance met with him at laſt, for *Hercules* found out the Villany, and kill'd him with his Club. *Agatho* the *Samian.*

Hercules as he was driving *Geryon*'s Oxen through *Italy*, took up his Lodging with King *Fanus* there, the Son of *Mercury*, whoſe Cuſtom it was to Sacrifice Strangers to his Father: He ſet upon *Hercules*, and had his Brains beaten out for his pains *Dercyllus*'s Third Book, *Hiſtory Italian.*

Phalaris of *Agrigentum* a cruel Tyrant, was wont to put Strangers and Travellers to the moſt exquiſite torments. *Perillus* a Braſs-founder made a Bull of Braſs, and preſented it to the King for a Nevy Inve tion of burning People alive in it. *Phalaris* for this once, was juſt, in making the firſt Proof of it upon *Perillus* himſelf; and the Invention was ſo artificial, that upon putting it in execution, the Engin it ſelf ſeem'd to bellow. Second *Book of Queſtions or Cauſes.*

In *Ægeſta* a City of *Sicily*, there was a certain Tyrant call'd *Æmilus Cenſorinus*, who was ſo inhuman, that he propos'd rewards to the Inventors of New Tortures. There was one *Aruntius Paterculus* that had fram'd a Brazen-Horſe, and made a Preſent of it to the Tyrant to practice with it upon whom he pleas'd. It was the firſt piece of Juſtice that ever the Tyrant did, to make Tryal of the Torment upon the Author of it, that he might firſt feel himſelf the Torments he had provided for others. He was afterwards thrown down from

from the *Tarpeian* Mountain. It may be thought that unmercifu! Rulers are from this Tyrant call'd *Æmilii*. *Ariſtides*'s Fourth Book Hiſtory *Italian*.

Evenus the Son of *Mars* and *Sterope* had a Daughter *Marpiſſa* by his Wife *Alcippa* the Daughter of *Oenomanus*; and this Girl he had a mind to keep a Virgin: But *Idas* the Son of *Aphareus* ran away with her; *Evenus* purſued him, and finding he could not overtake him he threw himſelf into the River *Lycorna*, and became immortal. *Doſithſeus*'s Firſt Book Hiſtory *Italian*.

Anius a King of the *Tuſcans* had a delicate handſom Daughter whoſe Name was *Salia*, and he took great care to keep her a Virgin; but *Cathetus* a Man of Quality, ſeeing her ſporting her ſelf fell paſſionately in Love with her, and carried her away to *Rome*. The Father made after her, and when he ſaw there was no catching of her, he threw himſelf into a River that from him took the name of *Anio*. *Cathetus* begot *Latinus* and *Salius* upon the Body of *Salia* the root of a Noble Race. *Ariſtides Mileſius*, and *Alexander Polyhiſtor* Third Book Hiſtory *Italian*.

Hegeſiſtratus an *Epheſian* committed a Murther and fled to *Delphus*; conſulting the *Oracle* what place to ſettle in, the Anſwer was, that when he ſhould come to a place where he ſhould ſee the Country-people Dancing, with Garlands of Olive leaves, he ſhould ſettle there. He travell'd into a certain Country of *Aſia*, where he found as the *Oracle* told him, and there built a City which he call'd *Elæus*. *Pythocles* the *Samion* in the Third Book of his *Georgics*.

Telegonus the Son of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe* was ſent to find out his Father, with order that where he ſhould ſee the Country-people Dancing with Garlands he ſhould there erect a City. He came into a certain place of *Italy*, where he found the Country-men Dancing with wreaths of Oaken Boughs about their Heads? ſo that there he built a City, and call'd it *Priniſtum*; for an *Oak* in *Greek* is πρῖνος. (The Romans corruptly call this C.ty *Præneſte*.) *Ariſtotle* in the Third Book of his *Italian* Hiſtory.

WE have it upon the Authority of a Credible Tradition, That this Chapter of Parallels *was none of* Plutarch's, *and that in the Margin of an Ancient* Greek M. S. *there is the Mark ſet upon it of a Spurious Piece; which is the rather to be believ'd, for that there is not ſo much as one Line or Thought in it, that comes up to the Spirit of that Illuſtrious Author. But however ſince it has paſs'd thus long in the World plauſibly enough under, the Authority and Protection of ſo great a Name, the whole Work would look as if it were imperfect without it. So that the preventing of that Inconenience; is the only reaſon that has mov'd me to this Tranſlation.*

Of the Names of Rivers and Mountains, and of ſuch things as are to be found therein.

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by* R. White, *M. A.*

THis Piece was never Printed with Plutarch's *Works before, & ſome there are who queſtion whether it were* Plutarch *that wrote this Treatiſe or no. But* Philip Jacob Mauſſacus *proves as well by the Style, as from other good Authorities that it was a legitimate Off-ſpring of the ſame Author. For which reaſon, ſince it was never Printed in the* Engliſh *before, it was thought but a piece of Juſtice to add it to the reſt of his Works.*

Hydaſpes. *Now the* Indian Rowey, *as moſt* ſuppoſe.

CHryſippe, by the impulſe of *Venus*, whom ſhe had offended, fell in Love with her Father *Hydaſpes*, and not being able to curb her preternatural deſires, by the help of her Nurſe, in the dead of the Night, got to his Bed, and reciev'd his Careſes: After which, the King proving unfortunate in his Affairs, he buried the Old Bawd, that had betray'd him, alive, and Crucified his Daughter. Nevertheleſs ſuch was the exceſs of his Grief for the loſs of *Chryſippe*, that he threw himſelf into a River of *India*, which was afterwards call'd by his name *Hydaſpes*.

This

This is a River of *India* which falls with an extraordinary ſwift Stream into the *Saronitic* Bay. Moreover in this River, there grows a Stone, which is call'd *Lyckinis*, which reſembles the colour of Oyl, and is very hot to the touch. And when they are ſearching after it, which they do when the Moon encreaſes, the Pipers play all the while: Nor is it to be worn by any but the richer Sort. Alſo near that Part of the River which is call'd *Pyle*, there grows an Herb which is very like a *Mary-Gold*, with the Juyce of which the People anoint their Skins to prevent Sun-burning, and to ſecure them againſt the ſcorching of the exceſſive Heat.

The Natives when ever they take their Virgins tardy, Nail them to a Wooden Croſs, and fling them into this River, ſinging at the ſame time in their own Language a Hymn to *Venus*. Every Year alſo, they Bury a Condemn'd Old Woman near the top of the Hill, call'd *Therogonos*; at what time an infinite Multitude of creeping Creatures come down from the top of the Hill, and devour the inſects that hover about the Buried Carkaſs: As *Chryſermus* relates in his Hiſtory of *India*, Tho *Archelaus* gives a more exact account of theſe things in his Treatiſe of *Rivers*.

Near to this River lies the Mountain *Elephas*, ſo cal'ed upon this Occaſion. When *Alexander* the *Macedonian* advanc'd with his Army into *India*, and that the Natives were reſolv'd to withſtand him with all their Force, the Elephant upon which *Porus*, King of that Region, was wont to ride, being of a ſudden, ſtung with a Gad Bee, ran up to the top of the Mountain of the Sun, and there utter'd theſe words diſtinctly in human Speech. O King, my Lord, deſcending from the Race of *Gegaſius*, *forbear to attempt any thing againſt* Alexander, *for he is deſcending from* Jupiter; and having ſo ſaid he preſently Dy'd, Which when *Porus* underſtood, afraid of *Alexander*, he fell at his Feet, and ſu'd for Peace. Which when he had obtain'd, he call'd the Mountain *Elephas*; as *Dercyllus* teſtifies in his third Book of *Mountains*.

Iſmenus. *Now* Iſmeno.

Iſmenus is a River of *Bœtia*, that Waſhes the Walls of *Thebes*, it was formerly call'd the *Foot of Cadmus*, upon this occaſion. When *Cadmus* had ſlain the *Dragon* which kept the Fountain of *Mars*, he was afraid to taſte of the Water, believing it was Poyſon'd? which forc'd him to wander about in ſearch of another Fountain, to allay his Thirſt. At length, by the help of *Minerva*, he came to the *Corycæn* Den, where his right Leg ſtuck deep in the Mire; and from that hole it was that after he had pull'd his Leg out again, ſprung a fair River, which the *Hero* after the Solemnity of his Sacrifices perform'd, call'd by the name of *Cadmus*'s Foot.

Sometime after, *Iſmenus* the Son of *Amphion* and *Nioble* being wounded by *Apollo*, and in great pain, threw himſelf into the ſaid River, which was then from his name call'd *Iſmenus*, as *Soſtratus* relates in his ſecond Book *of Rivers*.

Near to this River lies the Mountain *Citheron*, formerly call'd *Aſterion* for this reaſon, *Bœtus* the Son of *Neptune*, being deſirous of two Noble Ladies, to Marry her that ſhould be moſt beneficial to him, while he tarry'd for both in the Night-time upon the top of a certain nameleſs Mountain, of a Suddain a Star fell from Heaven upon the Shoulders of *Eurythemiſtes*, and immediately vaniſh'd. Upon which *Bœtus* underſtanding the meaning of the Prodigy, Marry'd the Virgin, and call'd the Mountain *Aſterion* from the Accident that befel him. Afterwads it was call'd † *Citheron* upon this occaſion. *Tiſiphon* one of the *Erinnyes* or *Furies* of Hell falling in Love with a moſt beautiful Youth whoſe name was *Citheron*, and not being able to curb the Impatience of her Deſires, declared her Affection to him in a Letter, to which he would not return any Anſwer. Whereupon the Fury miſſing her Deſign, pull'd one of the Serpents from her Locks and flung it upon the Young Lad, as he was keeping his Sheep on the top of the Mountain *Aſterion*; where the Serpent twining about his Neck, choak'd him to Death.

† Now *Citheron*.

Death. And thereupon by the Will of the Gods, the Mountain was call'd *Citharon*, as *Leo* of *Byzantium* writes in his Hiſtory of *Bœotia*.

But *Hermeſianax* of *Cyprus*, tells the Story quite otherwiſe. For he ſays, that *Helicon* and *Citharon* were two Brothers, quite different in their Diſpoſitions. For *Helicon* was affable and mild, and obedient to his Parents and Elders: But *Citharon* being covetous, and greedily gaping after the Eſtate, firſt kill'd his Father, and then Treacherouſly threw his brother down from a ſteep Precipice, but in ſtriving together, fell himſelf a long with him. Whence by the Providence of the Gods, the Names of both the Mountains were chang'd. *Citharon*, by reaſon of his impiety occaſion'd the Fable of the *Furies*. *Helicon*, for the Young Man's Love to his Parents, became the Habitation of the *Muſes*.

Hebrus. Now *Mariſa.*

Hebrus is a River of *Thrace* deriving it's name from the many Gulphs and white-Pools in the Water.

Caſſander, King of that Region, having Marry'd *Crotonice*, had by her a Son whom he named *Hebrus*: But then being divorc'd from his firſt Wife, he Marry'd *Damaſippe*, the Daughter of *Atrax*, and brought her home over his Sons Head; with whom the Mother in Law falling in Love, invited him by Letters to her Embraces. But he avoiding his Mother as a Fury, gave himſelf over to the ſport of Hunting. On the other ſide, the impious Woman miſſing her purpoſe, bely'd the chaſt Youth, and accus'd him of Attempting to raviſh her. Upon this *Caſſander*, raging with jealouſie, flew to the Wood in a wild Fury, and with his Sword drawn purſu'd his Son, as one that treacherouſly ſought to defile his Fathers Bed. Upon which, the Son finding he could no way eſcape his Fathers wrath, threw himſelf into the River *Rombus*, which was afterwards call'd *Hebrus*, from the Name of the Young Man; as *Timotheus* teſtifies in his eleventh Book of *Rivers*.

Near to this River lies the Mountain *Pangæus* ſo called upon this occaſion. *Pangæus* the Son of *Mars* and *Critobule*, by a Miſtake lay with his own Daughter: which perplex'd him to that degree, that he fled to the *Carmanian* Mountain, where overwhelm'd with a ſorrow which he could not Maſter, he drew his Sword, and ſlew himſelf. Whence by the Providence of the Gods the Place was call'd **Pangæus.*

**Now Malaca and Caſtagna.*

In the River before mention'd grows an Herb, not much unlike to *Baſil*; the tops of which the *Thracians* cropping off, burn upon a gentle fire; and after hard drinking hold their Heads over the ſmoak, and ſnuff it up into their Noſtrils, and let it go down their Throats, till at laſt they fall into a profound ſleep.

Alſo upon the Mountain *Pangæus* grows an *Herb*, which is call'd the *Harp*, upon this occaſion. The Women that tore *Orpheus* in pieces caſt his Limbs into the River *Hebrus*; and his Head being chang'd, the whole Body was turned into the ſhape of a Dragon. But as for his Harp, ſuch was the will of *Apollo*, it remain'd in the ſame Form: And from the ſtreaminng Blood, grew up the Herb which was call'd the *Harp*; which during the Solemnity of the Sacrifices to *Bacchus*, ſends forth a Sound like that of an Harp, when play'd upon. At what time the Natives cover'd with the Skins of young Hinds, and waving their *Thyrſus*'s in their Hands, ſing a Hymn, of which theſe are part of the Words.

And then ſhalt thou be Wiſe
When folly does thy Brain ſurprize;

As *Clitonymus* reports, in his Third Book of *Tragical Relations.*

Ganges.

Ganges is a River in *India*, ſo call'd for this reaſon. A certain *Calaurian* Nymph, had by *Indus* a Son call'd *Ganges*, conſpicious for his Beauty. Who growing up to Manhood, and deſperately overcome with Wine in the heat of his Intoxication lay with his Mother *Dio-*

pithuſ

pithuſa. The next day being inform'd by the Nurſe of what he had done; ſuch was the exceſs of his Sorrow, that he threw himſelf into a River call'd *Chliarus*, afterwards call'd *Ganges* from his own Name.

In this River grows an *Herb* reſembling *Bugloſs*, which the Natives bruiſe, and keep the Juyce very charily. With this Juyce in the dead of the Night they go and beſprinkle the Tigers Dens; The Vertue of which is ſuch, that the Tigers not being able to ſtir forth by reaſon of the ſtrong Scent of the Juyce, are ſtarv'd to death, as *Calliſthenes* reports in his Third Book of *Hunting*.

Upon the Banks of this River lies the Mountain called the *Anatole*, for this reaſon. The Sun, beholding the Nymph *Anaxibia* innocently ſpending her time in the Fields, fell paſſionately in Love with her, and not able to curb his looſe Amours, purſu'd her with a purpoſe to raviſh her. She therefore finding no other way to eſcape him, fled to the Temple of *Orthian Diana*, which was ſeated upon the Mountain call'd *Coryphe*, and there immediately vaniſh'd away. Upon which the Deity that follow'd her cloſe at the Heels, not knowing what was become of his beloved, overwhelm'd with Grief, roſe in that very place. And from this Accident it was that the Natives call'd the top of that Mountain *Anatole*, or the riſing of the Sun. As *Cameron* reports in his Tenth Book, *Of the Affairs of* India.

Phaſis. Now *Faſſo*, and *Phazzeth*.

Phaſis is a River of *Scythia*, running by a City of the ſame Name. It was formerly call'd *Arcturus*, deriving its Name from the Scituation of the cold Regions through which it runs. But the Name of it was altered upon this occaſion.

Phaſis the Son of *Soll*, and *Ocyrrhoe* Daughter of *Oceanus*, ſlew his Mother whom he took in the very act of Adultrey. For which being tormented by the Furies appearing to him, he threw himſelf into the River *Arcturus*, which was afterwards call'd by his own name *Phyſis*.

In this River grows a Reed, which is call'd *Leucophyllus*, or the *Reed* with the *White Leaf*. This Reed is

found at the dawning of the Morning-Light, at what time the Sacrifices are offer'd to *Hecate*, and this too, by the Divine Inſpiration of *Pan*, at the beginning of the Spring: When they who are troubled with jealous Heads, ga ther this Reed, and ſtrew it in their Wifes Chambers to keep them chaſte: And the Nature of this Reed is ſuch, that if any wild extravagant Perſon happens to come raſhly in Drink into the Room where it lies, he preſently becomes depriv'd of his rational thoughts and immediately confeſſes whatever he has wickedly done and intended to do. At what time they that are preſent to hear him, lay hold of him, ſow him up in a Sack, and throw him into a hole call'd the *Little Mouth* of the Wicked, which is round like the Mouth of a Well; which after thirty days empties the Body into the Lake *Mœotis* that is full of Worms; where of a ſudden the Body is ſeiz'd and torn to pieces by ſeveral Vultures unſeen before, nor is it known from whence they come; as *Kteſippus* relates in his ſecond Book of *Scythian Relations.*

Near to this River lies the Mountain *Caucaſſus*, which was before call'd *Boreas*'s *Bed*, upon this occaſion. *Boreas* in the heat of his amorous Paſſion raviſh'd away by force *Chloris* the Daughter of *Arcturus*, and carry'd her to a certain Hill which was call'd *Niphantes*, and upon her begot a Son whom he call'd *Harpax*, who ſucceded *Heniochus* in his Kingdom. For which reaſon the Mountain was firſt call'd *Boreas*'s Bed; but afterwards *Caucaſſus* upon this occaſion. After the Fight of the Gyants, *Saturn* to avoid the Menaces of *Jupiter*, fled to the top of *Boreas*'s *Bed*, and there being turn'd into a *Crocodile* ſlew *Caucaſſus*, one of the Sheperds inhabiting that place and obſerving the Scituation and Diſpoſition of his entrails, foreſaw that his Enemies were not far off. Preſently *Jupiter* appearing and binding his Father with a Woollen Liſt, threw him down to Hell. Then changing the name of the Mountain in Honour of the Sheperd *Caucaſſus*, he chain'd *Prometheus* to it, and caus'd him to be tormented by an Eagle that fed upon his Entrails, becauſe he was the firſt that found

out

out the inſpection of Bowels; which *Jupiter* deem'd a great Cruelty. As *Cleanthes* relates in his third Book, *Of the Wars of the Gods.*

Upon this Mountain grows an *Herb*, which is call'd *Prometheon*, which *Medea* gathering, and bruiſing made uſe of to protect *Jaſon* againſt her Fathers obſtinacy.

Arar. Now *La Saone.*

Arar is a River in that part of *France*, formerly call'd *Gallia Celtica*, deriving the Name from its being mix'd with the River *Rhodanus*. For it falls into the *Rhoſnæ* within the Country of the * *Allobroges*. It was formerly called *Brigulus*, but afterwards changed its Name upon this occaſion. *Arar*, as he was a Hunting, entring into the Wood, and there finding his Brother *Celtiber* torn in pieces by the Wild Beaſts, mortally wounded himſelf for grief, and fell into the River *Morgulus*; which from that accident was afterwards call'd by his own name *Arar*.

* Where now ſtands the Cities of *Chambery*, St. *Jean Mouſters*, *Geneva*, *Grenoble*, and *Vienne*.

In this River there breeds a certain large Fiſh, which by the Natives is call'd *Culpæa*. This Fiſh during the increaſe of the Moon is white; but all the while the Moon is in the wane, it is altogether black: And when it grows over bulky, is, as it were, ſtabb'd by its own Fins. In the head of it is found a Stone like a Corn of Salt, which being apply'd to the left Parts of the Body when the Moon is in the wane, cures Quartain Agues, as *Calliſthenes* the *Sybarite* tells us in the thirteenth Book of *Gallic Relations*; from whom *Timagenes* the *Syrian* borrow'd his Argument.

Near to this River ſtands a Mountain call'd *Lugdunus*, which chang'd its name upon this occaſion. When *Momorus* and *Atepomorus* were dethron'd by *Seſeroneus*, in purſuance of the Oracles command they deſign'd to Build a City upon the top of the Hill. But when they had laid the Foundations, great numbers of Crows with their Wings expanded, cover'd all the Neighbouring Trees. Upon which *Momorus* being a Perſon well

Skill'd

skill'd in Augury call'd, the City.* *Lugdunum.* For *Lugon* in their Language ſignify'd a Crow, and * *Dunum* any ſpacious Hill, or wide place; as *Clitophon* reports in his Thirteenth Book of the *Building of Cities.*

* Now Lyons.

** Whence probably our *Engliſh* word Down.

Pactolus. Now *Sarabat.*

Pactolus is a River of *Lydia*, that waſhes the Walls of of *Sardis*, formerly call'd *Chryſorrhoas.* For *Chryſorrhoas*, the Son of *Apollo* and *Appathippe*, being a Mechanic Artiſt, and one that only liv'd from Hand to Mouth upon his Trade, one time in the middle of the Night made bold to break open the Treaſury of *Craſus*, and conveighing thence a good quantity of Gold, made a diſtribution of it to his Family: But being purſu'd by the King's Officers, when he ſaw he muſt be taken, he threw himſelf into the River which was afterward from his Name call'd *Chryſorrohas*; afterwards chang'd into that of *Pactolus* upon this occaſion.

Pactolus the Son of *Jolis* and *Leucothea* during the performance of the *Myſtenes* ſacred to *Venus*, raviſh'd *Demodice* his own Sifter, not knowing who ſhe was: For which being overwhelm'd with Grief, he threw himſelf into the River *Chryſorrhoas*, which from that time forward was call'd *Pactolus* from his own Name.

In this River is found a moſt pure Gold Sand, which the force of the ſtream carries into the happy boſom of the River *Hermus.* Alſo in this River is to be found a Stone which is call'd *Arourophylax* (or the Preſerver of the Fields) reſembling the colour of Silver, very hard to be found, in regard of its being mixt with the Gold Sand. The vertue of which is ſuch, that the more wealthy *Lydians* buy it, and lay it at the doors of their Treaſuries, by which means they preſerve their Treaſure, whatever it be, ſafe from the ſeizure of pilfering Hands. For upon the approach of Thieves or Robbers the Stone ſends forth a ſound like that of a Trumpet. Upon which the Thieves ſurpriz'd, and believing themſelves apprehended by Officers, throw themſelves head-

long

long and break their Necks: inſomuch that the Place where the Thieves thus frighted come by their violent deaths is call'd *Pactolus's Priſon.*

In this River alſo there grows an Herb that bears a Purple Flower, and is call'd *Chryſopole*; by which the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Cities try their pureſt Gold. For juſt before they put their Gold into the Melting Pot, they touch it with the Herb; at what time if t be pure and unmixt, the Leaves of the Herb will be tinctur'd with the Gold, and preſerve the ſubſtance of the Matter; but if it be adulterated, they will not admit the dicolouring moiſture, as *Chryſermus* relates in his Third Book *of Rivers.*

Near to this River lies the Mountain *Tmolus* full of all manner of Wild Beaſts, formerly call'd *Carmanorion*, from *Carmanor* the Son of *Bacchus* and *Alexithoe*, who was kill'd, as he was a Hunting by a Wild Boar; but afterward *Tmolus* upon this occaſion. * Now *Tomalize.*

Tmolus, the Son of *Mars*, and *Theogone*, King of *Lydia*, while he was a Hunting upon *Carmanorion*, chanc'd to ſee the fair Virgin *Arrhippe*, that attended upon *Diana*, and fell paſſionately in love with her. And ſuch was the heat of his love, that not being able to gain her by fair means, he reſolv'd to vitiate her by force; who ſeeing ſhe could by no means eſcape his Fury otherwiſe, fled to the Temple of *Diana*: Where the Tyrant contemning all Religion, raviſh'd her. An Infamy which the Nymph not being able to ſurvive, immediately hang'd her ſelf. But *Diana* would not paſs by ſo great a Crime, and therefore to be reveng'd upon the King for his Irreligious Inſolency, ſhe ſet a mad Bull upon him, by which the King being toſt up in the Air, and falling down upon Stakes and Stones, ended his days in torment. But *Theottumenus* his Son, ſo ſoon as he had Buried his Father, altered the name of the Mountain and call'd *Tmolus* after his Fathers Name.

Upon this Mountain grows a Stone, not unlike a Pumice-ſtone, which is very rare to be found. This Stone changes it's colour four times a day; and is only

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to be ſeen by Virgins that are not arriv'd at the Years of Underſtanding. But if Marriagable Virgins happen to ſee, they can never receive any Injury from thoſe that attempt their chaſtity, as *Clitophon* reports.

Lycormas. Now *Phidari.*

Lycormas is a River of *Etolia*, formerly call'd *Evenus* for this Reaſon. *Idas* the Son of *Aphareus*, after he had raviſht away by violence *Marpiſſa*, with whom he was paſſionately in Love, carry'd her away to *Pleuron* (a City of *Etolia.*) This Rape of his Daughter *Evenus* could by no means endure, and therefore purſu'd after the treacherous raviſher till he came to the River *Lycormas.* But then diſpairing to overtake the fugitive, he threw himſelf for madneſs into the River, which from his one name was call'd *Evenus.*

In this River grows an Herb which is call'd *Sariſſa*, becauſe it reſembles a Spear; of excellent uſe for thoſe that are troubled with dim ſight.

Near to this River lies *Myenus*, from *Myenus*, the Son of *Teleſtor* and *Alphaſibea*; who being belov'd by his Mother-in-Law, and unwilling to defile his Fathers Bed, retir'd himſelf to the Mountain *Alphius* But *Teleſtor* being made jealous of his Wife, purſu'd his Son into the Wilderneſs, and follow'd him ſo cloſe that *Myenus* not being able to eſcape, flung himſelf headlong from the top of the Mountain, which for that reaſon was afterwards call'd *Myenus.*

Upon this Mountain grows a Flower call'd the White Violet, which if you do but name the Word *Stepdame*, preſently dies away; as *Dercylus* reports in his Third Book of *Mountains.*

Meander. Now *Madre.*

Meander is a River of *Aſia*, formerly call'd *Anabainon* (or the Returner back) for of all Rivers in the World (except *Neda*) it is the only ſtream, which taking its riſe from its own Fountain, ſeems to run back to its own Head. It is call'd *Menander* from *Menander* the Son of *Cercaphus* and *Anaxibia*, who waging War with the *Peſſinuntians*

tians, made a vow to the Mother of the Gods, that if he obtain'd the Victory, he would Sacrifice the firſt that came to congratulate him for his good ſucceſs. Now it happen'd that the firſt that met him were his Son *Archelaus*, his Mother, and his Siſter. All which though ſo near ly related to him, he offer'd to the ſatisfaction of his vow. But then no leſs griev'd for what he had done, he caſt himſelf into the River *Anabainon*, which from the accident was afterwards call'd by his own name *Meander*; as *Timolaus* tells us in his Tenth Book of *Phrygian Relations*. *Agathocles* the *Samian* alſo makes mention of this Story, in his *Commonwealth* of *Peſſinuntum*. But *Demonſtratus* of *Apamia* relates the Story thus.

Meander being a ſecond time elected General againſt the *Peſſinuntines*, and obtaining the Victory quite contrary to his Expectation, gave to his Souldiers the Offerings due to the Mother of the Gods. At which the Goddeſs being offended, ſhe depriv'd him of his reaſon to that degree, that in the height of his Madneſs he ſlew both his Wife and his Son. But coming ſomewhat to himſelf and repenting of what he had done, he threw himſelf into the River, which by his Name was call'd *Meander*.

In this River there is a certain Stone, which by *Antiphraſis* is call'd *Sophron*, or the *Sober-ſtone*; which if you drop into the Boſom of any Man, it preſently makes him mad to that degree as to Murther his neareſt Relations, but having once atton'd the Mother of the gods, he is preſently reſtor'd to his Wits, as *Damaratus* teſtifies in his Third Book of *Rivers*: And *Archelaus* makes mention of the ſame in his Firſt Book of *Stones*.

Near to this Liver lies the Mountain †*Sipylus*, ſo called from *Sipylus* the Son of *Agenor* and *Dioxippe*. For he having kill'd his Mother by miſtake, and being haunted with the *Furies*, retired to the *Cerauuian* Mountain, and there hang'd himſelf for grief. After which by the Providence of the Gods, the Mountain was call'd *Sipylus*.

† Now *Cuſinas*.

In this Mountain grows a Stone that reſembles a *Cylider*, which when Children that are Obedient to their

Par-

Parents find they lay it up in the Temple of the Mothea of the Gods. Nor do they ever after transgress out of Impiety; but reverence their Parents and are Obedient to their Superior Relations; as *Agatharcides* the *Samian* relates in his Fourth Book of *Stones*. And *Damaratus* in his Fourth Book of *Phrygia*.

Marsyas.

Marsyas is a River of *Phrygia*, flowing by the City || *Kotene*, and formerly call'd the Fountain of *Midas* for this Reason. *Midas*, King of *Phrygia* travelling in the remoter parts of the Country, and wanting Water, stampt upon the Ground, and presently appeared a Golden Fountain: but the Water proving Gold, and both he and his Souldiers being ready to perish for thirst, he invok'd the compassion of *Bacchus*, who listning to his Prayers, supply'd him with Water. The *Phrygians* having by this means quench'd their thirst, *Midas* nam'd the River, that issu'd from the Spring, the Fountain of *Midas*. Afterwards it was call'd *Marsyas*, upon this occasion.

|| Afterwards call'd *Apamia*, now *Apamiz*, poor and uninhabited.

Marsyas being overcome and fled by *Apollo*, certain Satyrs are said to have sprung from the stream of his Blood; as also a River bearing the name of *Marsyas*, as *Alexander Cornelius* recites in his Third Book of *Phrygian* Relations. But *Eumenidas* the *Phrygian* tells the Story after this manner.

It happened that the Wine-bag which was made of *Marsyas*'s Skin being corroded by time, and carry'd away negligently by the wind, fell at last from the Land into *Midas*'s Well; and driving along with the stream, was taken up by a Fisher-man. At what time *Pisistratus* the *Lacedemonian* being commanded by the Oracle to build near the Place were the Relics of the *Satyr* were found, reflected upon the accident, and in obedience to the Oracle having built a fair City, call'd it *Noricum*, which in the *Phrygian* Language signifies a *Wine bag*.

In this River grows an Herb call'd, the *Pipe* or *Flute*, which being mov'd with the wind yields a melodious sound; as *Dercyllus* reports in his first Book of *Satyrics*.

Near to this River alſo lyes the Mountain *Berecynthius*, deriving it's name from *Berecynthus*, the firſt Prieſt to the Mother of the Gods. Upon this Mountain is found a Stone which is call'd *Machera*, very much reſembling Iron; which if any one happens to light upon, while the Solemnities of the Mother of the Gods are performing, he preſently runs mad; as *Agatharchides* reports in his *Phrygian Relations*.

Strymon. Now *Stromona*, *Radini*, and *Marmara*.

Strymon is a River of *Thrace*, that flows along by the City *Ædonis*, formerly call'd *Paleſtinus* from *Paleſtinus* the Son of *Neptune*. For he being at War with his Neighbours, and ſeiz'd with a violent ſickneſs, ſent his Son *Alyacmon*, to be General of his Army, who raſhly giving Battle to his Enemies, was ſlain in the Fight. The Tydings of which misfortune being brought to *Paleſtinus*, he privately withdrew himſelf from his Guards, and flung himſelf into the the River *Conozus*, which from that accident was afterwards call'd *Paleſtinus*. But as for *Strymon*, he was the Son of *Mars* and *Helice*, who hearing that his Son, * *Rheſus* was ſlain, flung himſelf into the River *Paleſtinus*, which was after that call'd *Strymon*, by his own Name.

* He was ſlain at *Troy* by *Diome*.

In this River grows a Stone which is call'd *Pauſilipus*, or the *Grief eaſing Stone*. This Stone, if any one find who is oppreſt with Grief, he ſhall preſently be eas'd of his Sorrow; as *Jaſon* of *Bizantium* relates in his *Tragics*.

Near to this River lyes the Mountains * *Rhodope* and † *Hemus*, who being Brother and Siſter, and both falling in love with each other, th' one was ſo preſumpt'ous as to call his Siſter his *Juno*, the other to call her Brother her *Jupiter*, which ſo offended the Deities, that they changed them into Mountains, bearing their own Names.

* Now by the *Greeks Baſtiſſa*; by the *Italians*, *Monte Argentaro*.

† Now by the *Turks*, *Balkan*; by the *Sclavonians*, *Cumonica*; by the *Italians*, *Catena del mondo*.

In

In theſe two Mountains grow certain Stones, which are call'd *Philadelphy*, or the *Loving brethren*. Theſe Stones are of a Crow Colour, and reſembling human Shape, and if they chance to be nam'd when they are ſeparated one from another, they preſently and ſeparately, as they lye, diſſolve and waſt away; as *Thraſyllus* the *Mendeſian* teſtifies in his Third Book of Stones, but more accurately in his Book of *Tragics*.

Sagaris. Now *Sagari* and *Sangari*.

Sagaris is a River of *Phrygia*, formerly call'd *Xerabates*, becauſe in the Summer time it was generally dry. But it was call'd *Sagaris* for this reaſon. *Sagaris*, the Son of *Myndon* and *Alexiroe*, contemning and ſlighting the Myſteries of the Mother of the Gods, frequently affronted and derided her Prieſts and *Galli*. At which the Goddeſs henouſly offended, ſtruck him with Madneſs, to that degree, that in one of his raging Fits, he flung himſelf into the River *Xerabates*, which from that time forward, was call'd *Sagaris*.

In this River grows a Stone, which is call'd *Autogryphus*, that is naturally engrav'd; for it is found with the Mother of the Gods by Nature engrav'd upon it. This ſtone, which is rarely to be found, if any of the *Galli*, or guilded Prieſts happen to light upon, he makes no wonder at it, but undauntedly brooks the ſight of a preternatural Action; as *Aretazes* reports in his *Phrygian* relations.

Near to this River lyes the Mountain *Baleneus*, which in the *Phrygian* Language ſignifies *Royal*; ſo call'd from *Baleneus*, the *Son* of *Ganymed* and *Medeſigiſte*, who perceiving his Father almoſt waſted with a Conſumption, inſtituted the *Ballenean* Feſtival, obſerv'd among the Natives to this Day.

In this River is to be found a Stone call'd *After*, which from the latter end of *Autumn*, ſhines at Mid-night like Fire. It is call'd in the Language of the Natives, *Ballen*, which ſignifies a *King*, as *Hermeſianax* the *Cyprian* affirms in his ſecond Book of his *Phrygian* Relations.

Scamander. Now *Scamandro*.

Scamander is a River of *Troas*, which was formerly call'd *Xanthus*, but chang'd its Name upon this Occaſion.

on. *Scamander* the Son of *Coribas* and *Demodice*, having ſuddenly expos'd himſelf while the Myſteries of *Rhea* were ſolemnizing, immediately ran mad, and being hurry'd away by his own Fury to the River *Xanthus*, flung himſelf into the Stream, which from thence was call'd *Scamander*.

In this River grows an Herb, like a *Vetch*, that bears a Cod with Berries ratling in it when they are ripe, whence it deriv'd the Name of *Siſtron*, or the *Rattle*: This Herb, whoever has in his Poſſeſſion, fears not the Apparition either of Gods or Devils; as *Demoſtratus* writes in his Second Book of Rivers.

Near to this River lyes the Mountain *Ida*, formerly *Gargarus*; on the Top of which ſtand the Altars of *Jupiter*, and the Mother of the Gods. But it was call'd *Ida* upon this occaſion; *Ægyſthus*, who deſcended from *Diſporus*, falling paſſionately in Love with the Nymph *Ida*, obtain'd her good-will, and begat the *Idæan Dactyly*, or Prieſts of the Mother of the Gods. After which, *Ida* running mad in the Temple of *Rhea*, *Egyſtus*, in remembrance of the Love which he bare her, call'd the Mountain by her Name.

In this Mountain grows a Stone call'd *Cryphius*, as being never to be found, but when the Myſteries of the Gods are ſolemnizing; as *Heraclitus* the *Sicyonian* writes in his ſecond Book of Stones.

Tanais. Now the River *Don.*

Tanais is a River of *Scythia* formerly call'd the *Amazonian* River, becauſe the *Amazons* bath'd themſelves therein; but alter'd its Name upon this Occaſion. *Tanais*, the Son of *Beroſſus* and *Lyſippe*, one of the *Amazons*, became a vehement Hater of the Female Sex, and looking upon Marriage as Ignominious and diſhonourable, applied himſelf wholly to Martial Affairs. Which ſo offended *Venus*, that ſhe caus'd him to fall paſſionately in Love with his own Mother. True it is, at firſt he withſtood the Force of his Paſſion, but finding he cou'd not Vanquiſh the fatal Neceſſity of yielding to Divine Impulſe, and yet deſirous to preſerve his Reſpect and

Piety towards his Mother, he flung himſelf into the *Amazonian River*, which was afterwards call'd *Tanis*, from the name of the young Man.

In this River grows a Plant which is call'd *Hallinda*, reſembling a Colewort. Which the Inhabitants bruiſing, and anointing their Bodies with the Juyce of it, find themſelves in a Condition better able to endure the Extremity of the Cold; and for that reaſon, in their own Language, they call it *Beroſſus*'s *Oyl*.

In this River grows a Stone not unlike to Cryſtal, reſembling the ſhape of a Man, with a Crown upon his Head. This Stone, whoever finds when the King Dies, and has it ready againſt the time that the People meet upon the Banks of the River to chuſe a new Soveraign, is preſently elected King, and receives the Scepter of the Deceaſed Prince: As *Cteſiphon* relates in his Third Book of *Plants*; and *Ariſtobulus* gives us the ſame Account in his firſt Book of *Stones*.

Near to this River alſo lies a Mountain, in the Language of the Natives, call'd *Brixaba*, which ſignifies the † *Fore-head of Rome*. And it was ſo call'd upon this Occaſion, *Phryxus* having loſt his Siſter *Helle* near the *Euxine* Sea, and as Nature in Juſtice requir'd, being extreamly troubl'd for his Loſs, retir'd to the top of a certain Hill to disburthen himſelf of his Sorrow. At what time certain *Barbarians* eſpying him, and Mounting up the Hill with their Arms in their Hands, a Gold Fleec'd Ram leaping out of a Thicket, and ſeeing the Multitude coming with articulate Language, and the Voice of a Man, awaken'd *Phryxus* faſt aſleep, as being tir'd with his Journey, and oppreſs'd with Sorrow, and taking him up upon his Back carry'd him to *Colchos*; and from this Accident it was, that the mountainous Promontory was call'd the *Rams Fore-head*.

† Now *Tanar*, or *Tamara* high Promontory in the *Tawic Cherſoneſe*, or *Chrim Tartarie*.

In this Mountain grows an Herb, by the *Barbarians* call'd *Phryxa*, not unlike our common *Rue*. Which if the Son of a former Mother have in his Poſſeſſion, he can never be injur'd by his Step-dame. It chiefly grows

near

near the Place which is call'd *Boreas*'s Den, and being gather'd, is colder then Snow. But if any Step-dame be forming a Deſign againſt her Son-in-Law, it ſets it ſelf on Fire and ſends forth a bright Flame. By which means, they who are thus warn'd avoid the Danger they are in; as *Agatho* the *Samian* teſtifies in his ſecond Book of the *Scythian* Relations.

THERMODON.

Thermodon is a River of *Scythia*, deriving its Name from the Accident. It was formerly call'd *Chryſtallus* as being often Frozen in the Summer, the Situation of the Place producing the effect. But that Name was alter'd upon this occaſion.

Cætera Deſunt.

NILE.

Nilus is a River in *Ægypt*, that runs by the City of *Alexandria*. It was formerly call'd *Melas*, from *Melas* the Son of *Neptune*; but afterwards it was call'd *Egyptus* upon this occaſion. *Egyptus*, the Son of *Vulcan* and *Leucippe*, was formerly King of the Country, between whom and his own Subjects, happen'd a Civil War; at what time the River *Nile* not increaſing, the *Egyptians* were oppreſt with Famin. Upon which the Oracle made Anſwer, that the Land ſhould be again bleſt with Plenty, if the King would Sacrifice his Daughter, to attone the Anger of the Gods. Upon which the King though greatly afflicted in his Mind, gave way to the Publick Good, and ſuffer'd his Daughter to be led to the Altar. But ſo ſoon as ſhe was Sacrific'd, the King not able to ſupport the Burthen of his Grief, threw himſelf into the River *Melas*, which after that was call'd *Egyptus*. But then it was call'd *Nilus* upon this Occaſion.

Garmathone, Queen of *Ægypt*, having loſt her Son *Chryſochoa*, while he was yet very young, with all her Servants and Friends, moſt bitterly bemoan'd her Loſs. At what time *Iſis* appearing to her, ſhe ſurceas'd her Sorrow for a while, and putting on the Countenance of a feigned Gratitude, kindly entertain'd the Goddeſs. Who

willing to make a ſuitable Return to the Queen for the Piety which ſhe expreſs'd in her Reception, perſwaded *Oſiris* to bring back her Son from the ſubterranean Regions. Which when *Oſiris* undertook to do, at the Opportunity of his Wife, *Cerberus*, whom ſome call *Phoberos*, or the *Terrible*, barkt ſo loud, that *Nilus*, *Germathone*'s Husband, ſtruck with a ſudden Frenzy, threw himſelf into the River *Ægyptus*, which from thence was afterwards call'd *Nilus*.

In this River grows a Stone, not unlike to a Bean, which ſo ſoon as any Dog happens to ſee, he ceaſes to bark. It alſo expels the Evil Spirit out of thoſe that are poſſeſs'd, if held to the Noſtrils of the Party afflicted.

There are other Stones which are found in this River, call'd *Kollotes*, which the Swallows picking up againſt the time that *Nilus* overflows, build up the Wall which is call'd the *Chelidonian* Wall, which reſtrains the Inundation of the Water, and will not ſuffer the Country to be injur'd by the Fury of the Flood; as *Thraſyllus* tells us in his Relations of *Ægypt*.

Upon this River lies the Mountain *Agyllus*; ſo called for this Reaſon:

Jupiter in the Heat of his amorous Deſires, raviſh'd away the Nymph *Arge* from *Lyſium*, a City of *Creet*, and then carry'd her to a Mountain of *Ægypt*, call'd *Argillus*, and there begat a Son, whom he nam'd *Dionyſius*, who growing up to Years of Manhood, in Honour of his Mother, call'd the Hill *Argillus*; and then Muſtering together an Army of *Pans* and *Satyrs*, firſt conquer'd the *Indians*, and then ſubduing *Spain*, left *Pan* behind him there, the chief Commander and Governour of thoſe places, who by his own name call'd that Country *Pania*, which was afterward by his Poſterity call'd *Spania*, as *Softhenes* relates in his *Iberian* Relation.

Euratas, Now *Baſilipotamo*.

Himerus, the Son of the *Nymph Taygete* and *Lacedæmon*, through the Anger of offended *Venus*, at a Reveling that laſted all Night, deflowr'd his Siſter *Cleodice*, not knowing what he did. But the next Day, being in-

form'd

form'd of the Truth of the Matter, he lay'd it so to heart, that through excess of Grief, he flung himself into the River *Marathon*, which from thence was call'd *Himeros* but after that *Eurotas*, upon this Occasion.

The *Lacedæmonians* being at War with the *Athenians*, and staying for the full Moon, *Eurotas* their Captain-General, despising all Religion, would needs fight his Enemies, tho at the same time it thunder'd and lighten'd as if Heaven and Earth would have come together: However, having lost his Army, the Ignominy of his Loss so incessantly perplext him that he flung himself into the River *Himerus*, which from that Accident was afterwards call'd *Eurotas*.

In this River grows a Stone which is shap'd like a Helmet, call'd *Thrasydelios*, or *Rash and Timorous*. For if it hears a Trumpet sound, it leaps toward the Bank of the River; but if you do but name the *Athenians*, it presently sinks to the bottom of the Water. Of these Stones, there are not a few which are consecrated and laid up in the brazen Temple of *Minerva*, as *Nicanor* the *Samian* relates in his second Book of *Rivers*.

Near to this River lies the Mountain †*Taygetus*, deriving its Name from the Nymph *Taygete*, who after *Jupiter* had deflowr'd her, ended her days for Grief, upon the Mountain *Arnycleus*, which from thence was call'd *Taygetus*.

†Now *Portes*, and *Monte di Sperlunga*

Upon this Mountain grows a Plant call'd *Charisium*, which the Women at the beginning of the Spring ty'd about their Necks, to make themselves more passionately to be belov'd by Men; as *Cleanthes* reports in his First Book of *Mountains*. But *Sosthenes* the *Cnidian* is more accurate in the Relation of these things, from whom *Hermogenes* borrow'd the Subject of his Writing.

Inachus.

Inachus is a River in the Territories of *Argos*, formerly call'd *Carmanor*. Afterwards *Halyatmon*, for this Reason. *Halyatmon*, a *Tyrinthian* by Birth, while he kept sheep upon the Mountain *Coccygium*, happen'd against his Will

to ſee *Jupiter* and *Rhea* ſporting together; for which being ſtruck mad, and hurry'd by the Violence of the Frenzy, he flung himſelf into the River *Carmanor*, which after that was call'd *Halyacmon*. Afterwards it was call'd *Inachus* upon this Occaſion.

Inachus, the Son of *Oceanus*, after that *Jupiter* had deflow'r'd his Siſter *Io*, purſu'd the Deity cloſe at the Heels blaſpheming and curſing him all the way as he went Which ſo offended *Jupiter*, that he ſent *Tiſiphone*, one of the Furies, who haunted and plagu'd him to that degree, that he flung himſelf into the River *Halyacmon* aftewards call'd by his own Name *Inachus*.

In this River grows an Herb call'd *Cyura* not unlike our common *Rue*. Which the Women that deſire to miſcarry without any Danger, lay upon their Navels being firſt ſteep'd in Wine.

There is alſo found in this River, a certain Stone, not unlike a *Beryl*, which in the Hands of a falſe Witneſs will grow black. Of theſe Stones there are many laid up in the Temple of * *Proſymnea Juno*; as *Timoſthenes* relates in his *Argelics*, and *Atho* the *Samian*, in his ſecond Book of *Rivers*.

* So call'd from *Proſymne*, a City of the Territory of the *Argives*.

Agathocles the *Mileſian*, in his Hiſtory of Rivers, alſo adds, that *Inachus* for his Impiety was thunder-ſtrook by *Jupiter*, and ſo the River dry'd up.

Near to this River lie the Mountains *Mycenæ*, *Apæſantus*, *Coccygium* and *Athæneu*; ſo call'd for theſe Reaſons. *Apæſantus*, was firſt call'd *Selenarius*. But *Juno* reſolving to be reveng'd upon *Hercules*, call'd the Moon to her Aſſiſtance, who by the help of her magical Charms, fill'd a large Cheſt full of Foam and Froth, out of which ſprang an immenſe Lyon; which *Iris* binding with her own Girdle, carry'd to the Mountain *Opheltium*, where the Lion kill'd *Apæſantus*, one of the Shepherds belonging to that Place: And from that Accident, by the Will of the Gods, the Hill was call'd *Apæſantus*; as *Demodocus* writes in his firſt Book of the Hiſtory of *Hercules*.

In this River grows an Herb call'd *Selene*, or the *Moon* with the Froth of which, being gather'd in the Spring the

the Shepherds anoint their Feet, and keep them from being bit or ſtung by any creeping Vermin.

The Mountains of *Mycena* were formerly call'd *Argyon*, from the many-eyd *Argos*; but afterwards the name was chang'd upon this occaſion.

When *Perſeus* had ſlain *Meduſa*, *Stheno* and *Euriale*, Siſters to her that was kill'd, purſu'd him as a Murderer. But coming to this Hill, and deſpairing to overtake him, out of that extream Love which they had for their Siſter, they made ſuch a howling noiſe, that the Natives from thence call'd the top of the Mountain *Mycænæ*, as *Cneſias* the *Epheſian* relates in his firſt Book of the Acts of *Perſeus*. But *Coryſermus* the *Corinthian* relates the ſtory thus in the Firſt Book of his *Peloponneſiacs*. For he ſays, that when *Perſeus* was carry'd aloft in the Air, when he lit upon this Mountain, he loſt the Chape of his Scabbard. At what time this ſame *Gorgophonos*, or Gorgon-ſlayer, King of the *Epidaurians*, being expell'd his Kingdom, receiv'd this anſwer upon his conſulting the Oracle, that he ſhould viſit all the Cities of the *Argolic* Territory, and that where he found the Chape of a cabbard, he ſhould Build a City. Thereupon coming to the Mountain *Argolic*, call'd in the *Greek* μυκὴς, and finding there an Ivory Scabbard, he built a City, and from the Accident, call'd it ‖ *Mycena*.

‖ Now *Agios, Adrianos* in the *Morea*.

In this Mountain there is found a Stone which is call'd *Corybas*, of a Crow-colour, which he that finds and wears about him, ſhall never be afraid of any monſtrous Apparitions. As for the Mountain *Apeſantus*, this may be added, that *Apeſantus*, the Son of *Arciſicus*, as he was a Hunting in that place, chanc'd to tread upon a venemous Serpent, which occaſion'd his Death. Whom when his Father had Buried, in Memory of his Son, he nam'd the Hill *Apeſantus*, which before was call'd *Setinuntios*.

The Mountain *Coccygium* deriv'd its Name from this Accident. *Jupiter* falling deſperately in Love with his Siſter *Juno*, and having vanquiſh'd her by his Importunity begot a Male Child. From whence the Moun-

tain before call'd *Dicæus*, was nam'd *Coccygium*; as *Agatho* relates in his *Perſis*.

In this Mountain grows a Tree, which is call'd *Palinurus*, upon the Boughs of which, whatever Fowl happens to Perch, they are preſently entangl'd as it were with Bird-lime, and cannot ſtir; only the ‖ Cuccow it lets go free, without any harm, as *Cteſiphon* teſtifies in his firſt Book of *Trees*.

‖ Which ſeems to be a better reaſon why the Mountain ſhould be call'd *Coccygium*, then that before given. In regard that *Coccyx* in *Greek* ſignifies a *Cuccow*.

As for the Mountain *Athenæus*, it derives it's Name from *Minerva*. For after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, *Diomede* running to *Argos*, aſcended the Mountain *Recaumenus*, and there, erecting a Temple to *Minerva*, call'd the Mountain *Athenæus* from her Name *Athena*.

Upon the top of this Mountain grows a Root like to that of *Rue*, which if any Woman unwarily taſte of, ſhe preſently runs Mad; This Root ‖ Rather *Liſimachus* is call'd *Adraſtia*, as ‖ *Pheſimachus* writes in his ſecond Book of the *Returns* of the *Heroes*.

Alpheius. Now *Carbon*, or *Darbon*.

Alpheius is a River of *Arcadia* running by the Walls of *Piſa*, a City of *Olympia* (or as others would have it waſhing the Feet of the Mountain *Olymphius*) formerly call'd *Stymphelus*, from *Stymphelus* the Son of *Mars* and *Dormothea*, who having loſt his Brother *Alcmæon*, threw himſelf for Grief into the River *Nyctimus*, for that reaſon call'd *Stymphelus*: Afterwards it was call'd *Alpheius* upon this occaſion.

Alpheius, one of thoſe that derives his deſcent from the Sun, contending with his Brother *Kerkaphus* about Courage and Vertue, ſlew him: For which being chas'd away and purſu'd by the Shepherds, he flung himſelf into the River *Nyctimus*, which after that was call'd *Alpheius*.

In this River grows a Plant which is call'd *Kencryti* reſembling a Honey-Comb, the Decoction of which being given by the Phyſitians to thoſe that are Mad

cure

cures them of their *Phrenſie*; as *Cteſias* relates in his firſt Book of *Rivers*.

Near to this River lyes the Mountain *Cronium*, ſo, call'd upon this occaſion. After the Giants War, *Saturn* to avoid the Threats of *Jupiter*, fled to the Mountain *Crunus*, and call'd it *Cronium* from his own Name. Where after he had abſconded for ſometime, he took his opportunity, and retir'd to *Caucaſus* in *Scythia*.

In this Mountain is found a Stone, which is call'd the *Cylinder*, upon this occaſion. For as oft as *Jupiter* either Thunders or Lightens, ſo often this Stone, thro fear rowles down from the top of the Mountain; as *Dercyllus* writes in his firſt Book of *Stones*.

Euphrates. Now *Frat*.

Euphrates is a River of *Parthia* waſhing the Walls of *Babylon* (now *Bagdat*) formerly call'd *Medus* from *Medus*, the Son of *Artaxerxes*. He, in the Heat of his Luſt, having raviſh'd away and deflowr'd *Roxane*, and finding he was ſought after by the King, in order to be brought to puniſhment, threw himſelf into the River *Zaranda*, which from thence forward was call'd by his name *Medus*. Afterwards it was called *Euphrates* upon this occaſion.

Euphrates the Son of *Arandacus* finding his Son *Axurta* a Bed with his Mother: and thinking him to be ſome one of his Courtiers, provok'd by his Jealouſie, he drew his Sword and naild him to the Bed. But perceiving himſelf the Author of what could not be recall'd, he flung himſelf for Grief into the River *Medus*, which from that time forward was call'd by his Name *Euphrates*.

In this River grows a Stone call'd *Aſterites*, which Midwives applying to the Navils of Women that are in hard Labour, cauſes them to bring forth with little pain.

In the ſame River alſo there grows an Herb which is call'd *Exalta* or *Axalta*, which ſignifies *Heat*. This Herb they that are troubl'd with Quartan Agues, applying to their Breaſts, are preſently deliver'd from the Fit, as *Chryſermus* writes in his Thirteenth Book of *Rivers*.

Near

Near this River lies the Mountain *Drimyllus*, where grows a Stone, not unlike a *Sardonix*, worn by Kings and Princes upon their *Diadems*, and greatly available againſt dimneſs of ſight, as *Micias Mollotes* writes in his Book of *Stones*.

Caicus. Now *Girmaſti*, *Caſtri* and *Chiay*.

Caicus is a River of *Myſia* formerly call'd *Aſtræus* from *Aſtræus* the Son of *Neptune*. For he, in the height of *Minerva*'s Nocturnal Solemnities having deflowr'd his Siſter by a miſtake, took a Ring at the ſame time from her Finger; by which when he underſtood the next day the Error which he had committed, for grief he threw himſelf head-long into the River *Adurus*, which from thence was call'd *Aræus*. Afterwards it came to be call'd *Caicus* upon this occaſion.

Caicus the Son of *Hermes* and *Ocyerhoe* the Nymph, having ſlain *Timander* one of the Noble-men of the Country, and fearing the revenge of his Relations, flung himſelf into the River *Aſtræus*, which from that accident was call'd *Caicus*.

In this River grows a ſort of Poppy, which inſtead of Flowers bears ſeveral Stones. Of theſe, there are ſome which are black and ſhap'd like Harps, which the *Myſians* throw upon their Plough'd Lands; and if, the Stones lye ſtill in the place where they are thrown 'tis a ſign of a Barren Year; but if they fly away like ſo many Locuſts they prognoſticate a plentiful Harveſt.

In the ſame River alſo grows an Herb which is call'd *Elipharmacus*, which the Phyſitians apply to ſuch as are troubl'd with immoderate fluxes of Blood, as having a peculiar Vertue to ſtop the Orifices of the Veins; according to the Relation of *Timagoras* in his firſt Book of *Rivers*.

Adjoyning to the Banks of this River lies the Mountain *Teuthras*, ſo call'd from *Teuthras* King of the *Myſians*. Who in purſuance of his Sport, as he was a Hunting, aſcending the Hill *Thraſyllus*, and ſeeing a monſtrous Wild-Boar, follow'd him cloſe with the reſt of his Train.

On

On the other ſide the Boar to prevent the Hunters, like a ſuppliant, fled to the Temple of *Orthoſian Diana*, into which when the Hunters were about to force their entrance, the Boar in Articulate Words cry'd out, *ſpare, O King, the Nurſery of the Goddeſs.* However *Teuthras*, exalted with his good Succeſs, kill'd the poor Boar. At which *Diana* was ſo highly offended, that ſhe reſtor'd the Boar to Life, but ſtruck the offender with ſcurf and madneſs. Which Affliction the King not enduring, betook himſelf to the Tops of the Mountains. But his Mother *Leucippe*, underſtanding what had befallen her Son, ran to the Forreſt, taking along with her the Sooth-ſayer *Polydion*, the Son of *Cyanus*, by whom being inform'd of all the ſeveral Circumſtances of the Matter, by many Sacrifices ſhe at laſt atton'd the Anger of the Goddeſs, and having quite recover'd and cured her Son erected an Altar to *Orthoſian Diana*, and caus'd a Golden Boar to be made with a Mans Face; which to this day if purſu'd by the Hunters, ſeems to enter the Temple and ſpeaks with the Voice of a Man. Thus *Teuthras* being reſtor'd to his former Health, call'd the Mountain by his own Name *Teuthras.*

In this Mountain grows a Stone caz'd *Antipathe*, or the Reſiſter, which is of excellent Vertue to cure Scabs and Leproſies, being powder'd and mix'd with Wine; as *Cnidus* tells us in his ſecond Book of *Mountains.*

Achelous. Now *Aſtropotomo, Geromlea, and Pachiolmo.*

Acheolus is a River of * *Ætolia* formerly call'd *Theſtius.* This *Theſtius* was the ſon of *Mars* and *Preſidice*, who upon ſome Domeſtic diſcontent, travell'd as far as *Sicyon*, * where after he had reſided for ſome time, he return'd to his Native home. But finding there his Son *Calydon* and his Mother both upon the Bed together, believing him to be an Adulterer, he ſlew his own Child by a miſtake. But when he beheld the unfortunate and unexpected Fact he had committed, he threw himſelf into the Ri-

* Now *il deſpotato.*

* Now *Baſilier* or *Vaſilica* in the *Morea.*

ver

ver *Axenos*, which from thence was after wards call'd *Theſtius*: And after that, *Achelous* upon this Occaſion. *Achelous* the Son of *Oceanus* and the Nymph *Nais*, having deflowr'd his Daughter *Cleſtoria*, flung himſelf for grief into the River *Theſtius*, which then by his own name was call'd *Achelous*.

In this River grows an Herb, which they call *Zachlen* very much reſembling Wool, this if you bruiſe and caſt into Wine, it becomes Water, and preſerves the ſmell but not the Vertues of the Wine.

In the ſame River alſo is found a certain Stone of a mixt Black and Lead-Colour, call'd *Linurgus* from the effect; for if you throw it upon a Linnen-Cloath, by a certain affectionate Union it aſſumes the ſhape of the Linnen, and turns white, as *Antiſthenes* relates in the Third Book of his *Meleagris*; though *Diocles* the *Rhodian* more accurately tells us the ſame thing in his *Ætolics*.

Near to this River lies the Mountain *Calydon*, ſo call'd from *Calidon* the Son of *Mars* and *Aſtigone*; For that he by an accident having ſeen *Diana* bathing her ſelf, was transform'd into a Rock, and the Mountain which before was nam'd *Gyron*, was afterwards call'd *Calydon*.

Upon this Mountain grows an Herb call'd *Myops*, which if any one ſteep in Water, and waſhes his Face with it, he ſhall loſe his ſight, but upon his attoning *Diana*, ſhall recover it again: as *Dercyllus* writes in his Third Book of *Ætolics*.

Araxes, Now *Araſs*, *Arais* *Achlar* and *Caiacs*.

Araxes is a River in *Armenia*, ſo call'd from *Araxus* the Son of *Pylus*. For he contending with his Grand-Father *Arbelus* for the Empire, ſtabb'd him with an Arrow. For which being haunted by the *Furies*, he threw himſelf into the River *Bactros*, for that reaſon call'd *Araxes*; as *Cteſiphon* teſtifies in his Firſt Book of the *Perſian Affairs*. *Araxes* King of the *Armenians*, being at War with his Neighbours the *Perſians*, before they came

came to a Battle, was told by the Oracle that he ſhould win the Victories, if he ſacrific'd to the Gods two of the moſt noble Virgins in his Kingdom. Now he, out of his paternal Affection to his Children, ſpar'd his own Daughters, and caus'd two lovely Virgins, the Daughters of one of his Nobility to be laid upon the Altar. Which *Mneſalkes*, the Father of the Victims laying to heart, for a time conceal'd his Indignation, but afterwards, obſerving his opportunity, kill'd both the Kings Daughters, and then leaving his native Soil fled into *Scythia*. Which when *Araxes* underſtood, for grief he threw himſelf into the River *Halmus*, which then was alter'd, and the River call'd *Araxes*.

In this River grows a Plant which is call'd *Araxa*, which in the Language of the Natives ſignifies a *Virgin-Hater*. For that if it happen to be found by any Virgin, it falls a bleeding and dies away.

In the ſame River there is alſo found a Stone, of a black colour, call'd *Sicyorus*. This Stone when the Oracle adviſes the ſacrificing of a human Victim, is laid upon the Altar of the Miſchief-diverting Gods. And then, no ſooner does the Prieſt touch it with his Knife, but it ſends forth a ſtream of Blood; at what time the ſuperſtitious ſacrificers retire, and with howlings and loud Ohoning carry the Stone to the Temple, as *Doritheus* the *Caldæan* relates in his ſecond Book of *Stones*.

Near to this River lies the Mountain *Diorphus*; ſo call'd from *Diorphus* the Son of the Earth; of whom this Story is reported. *Methras* deſirous to have a Son yet, hating Woman-kind, * lay with a Stone till he had heated it to that degree, that the Stone grew big, and at the prefix'd time was deliver'd of a Son, call'd *Diorphos*, who growing up and contending with *Mars* for courage and ſtoutneſs, was by him ſlain; and the Mountain where the Contender was buried was call'd *Diorphos* by his Name.

* *Saxum Sarrivit*, according to that of *Martial*, *Quid Sarire ſi velis Saxum.*

In this Mountain grows a Tree, not unlike a Pomegranate-Tree, which yields plenty of Apples, in taſte like

like Grapes. Now if any one gather the ripeſt of this Fruit, and do but name *Mars* while he holds it in his hand, it will preſently grow green again, as *Cteſiphon* Witneſſes in his Third Book of *Trees*.

Tioris. Now *Tegil*, *Sir*, and *Ser*.

Tigris is a River of *Armenia* nowing into *Araxes* and the Lake * of *Arſacis* formerly call'd *Sollax*, which ſignifies *running and carry'd downward*. It was call'd *Tigris* upon this occaſion.

* Now *Lac de Vaſtan*, or *Mer'd Armenie*.

Bacchus, through the Anger of *Juno*, running mad, wander'd over Sea and Land, deſirous to be quit of his Diſtemper. At length coming into *Armenia*, and not being able to paſs the River before mentioned, call'd upon *Jupiter*, who liſtning to his Prayers, ſent him a Tiger that carry'd him ſafely over the Water; in remembrance of which accident he call'd the River *Tigris*, as *Theophilus* relates in his Firſt Book of *Stones*. But *Hermeſianax* tells the Story thus.

Bacchus falling in Love with the Nymph *Alpheſibœa*, and being able to vanquiſh her neither with Preſents nor Intreaties, turn'd himſelf into the ſhape of the River *Tigris*, and overcoming his Beloved by fear, took her away, and carrying her over the River begot a Son whom he call'd *Medus*: who growing up in Years, in remembrance of the accident he call'd the river by the name of *Tigris*; as *Ariſtonymus* relates in his third Book.

In this River a Stone is to be found call'd *Myndan* very White; which whoever enjoys, ſhall never be hurt by wild Beaſts, as *Leo* of *Byzantium* relates in his Third Book of *Rivers*.

Near to this River lyes the Mountain *Gauran*; ſo call'd from *Gauran* the Son of the *Satrap* of the Province of *Roxanes*; who being extreamly Religious and Devout towards the Gods, receiv'd this reward of his Piety, that of all the *Perſians* he only liv'd three hundred Years; and dying at laſt without being ever af-

fected

flicted with any Diſeaſe, was Buried upon the Top of the Mountain *Gaurain*, where he had a ſumptuous Monument erected to his Memory. Afterwards, by the Providence of the Gods, the name of the Mountain was chang'd to that of *Mauſorus*.

In this Mountain grows an Herb, which is like to Wild-Barley. This Herb the Natives heat over the Fire, and anointing themſelves with the Oyl of it, are never Sick, till the neceſſity of Dying overtakes them as *Soſtratus* writes in his Firſt Collection of Fabulous Hiſtory.

Indus. Now *Sinde.*

Indus is a River in *India* flowing with a rapid violence into the Country of the Fiſh-devourers. It was firſt called *Mauſolus*, from *Mauſolus* the Son of the Sun, but chang'd it's name for this reaſon.

At the time when the Myſteries of *Bacchus* were Solemniz'd and that the People were earneſt at their Devotion, *Indus* one of the chief of the Young Nobility, by force deflowr'd *Damaſalkidas*. the Daughter of *Oxyrtcus* the King of the Country, as ſhe was carrying the Sacred-Basket, or Caniſtrum; for which being ſought for by the Tyrant, in order to bring him to condign Puniſhment, for fear he threw himſelf into the River *Mauſolus*, which from that accident was afterwards called *Indus*.

In this River grows a certain Stone call'd *Carpyce*, which if a Virgin carry about her, ſhe need never be afraid of being deflower'd.

In the ſame River alſo grows an Herb, which is called *Carpyce*, not unlike to *Bugloſs*. Which is an Excellent Remedy againſt the Kings-Evil, being adminiſtred to the Patient in warm-water: as *Clitophon*, the *Rhodian*, reports in his firſt Book of *Indian Relations*.

Near to this Mountain lyes the Mountain *Lileus*, ſo call'd from *Lileus* a Shepherd; who being very ſuperſtitious, and a ſole-worſhipper of the Moon, always perform'd her Myſteries in the dead time of the Night: Which

Which the reſt of the Gods taking for a great diſhonour, ſent two Monſtrous Lions that tore him in pieces. Upon which the Moon turn'd her Adorer into a Mountain of the ſame name.

In this Mountain the Stone is found which is call'd *Clitoris*, of a very black colour, which the *Natives* wear for Ornaments ſake, at the ſolemn Sacrifices which they make after their eſcape from any Danger or Sickneſs, as *Ariſtotle* witneſſes in his fourth Book of *Rivers*.

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